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ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY;

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LIVES OF EMINENT MEN,

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HISTORY OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND;

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION;

SELECTED AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

NOTES,

BY

CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, M.A.

DEAN AND RECTOR OF BOCKING, AND DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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THOMAS BILNEY.

yers I make will then be sweet indeed
Unless thou the spirit give by which I pray:
My unassisted heart is barren clay,
Which of its native self can nothing feed:
Of good and pious works thou art the seed,
Which quickens only where thou sayest it may:
Unless thou shew to us thine own true way
No man can find it: Father! thou must lead.
Do thou, then, breathe those thoughts into my mind
By which such virtue may in me be bred,
That in thy holy footsteps I may tread:
The fetters of my tongue do thou unbind,
That I may have the power to sing of thee,
And sound thy praises everlastingly!

W. WORDSWORTH.

THOMAS BILNEY.

B. C. 13

THOMAS BILNEY was brought up in the Univerſitie of Cambridge, from a child, profiting in all kind of liberall sciences, even unto the profession of both lawes. But at the last, having gotten a better schoolemaster, even the holy spirit of Christ, enduing his heart by privie inspiration with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at the last unto this point, that forsaking the knowledge mans lawes, he converted his studie to those things, which tended more unto godlinesse than gainfulnesse.

As he himselfe was greatly inflamed with the love of true religion and godlinesse, even so againe was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many unto the same, desiring nothing more than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ, and sincere religion. Neither were his labours vaine, for he converted many of his fellowes unto the knowledge of the Gospel; amongst which number was Thomas Arthur, and master Hugh Latimer; which Latimer at that time was Crosse-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon procession daies. At the last, Bilney forsaking the Univerſitie, went into many places, teaching and preaching, being associate with Arthur, which accompanied him from the Universitie.

The authoritie of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinall of Yorke, at that time was great in England, but his pompe and pride much greater, which did evidently

declare unto all wise men, the manifest vanitie, not only of his life, but also of all the bishops and clergie. Whereupon Bilney, with other good men, marvelling at the incredible insolencie of the clergie, which they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive pompe, and also to plucke at the authoritie of the bishop of Rome.

Then it was time for the cardinall to awake, and speedily to looke about his businesse. Neither lacked he in this point any craft or subtiltie of a serpent; for he understood well enough upon how slender a foundation their ambitious dignitie was grounded, neither was he ignorant that their proud kingdome could not long continue against the manifest word of God, especially if the light of the Gospel should once open the eyes of men. For otherwise he did not greatly feare the power and displeasure of kings and princes. Only this he feared, the voice of Christ in his Gospell, lest it should disclose and detect their hypocrisie and deceits, and force them to come to an order of godly discipline: wherefore he thought good, speedily in time to withstand these beginnings. Whereupon he caused the said Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended and cast into prison.

After this, the seven and twentieth day of November, in the yeere of our Lord 1527, the said cardinall accompanied with a great number of bishops, as the archbishop of Canterburie, Cuthbert of London, John of Rochester, Nicholas of Ely, John of Exeter, John of Lincolne, John of Bathe and Welles, Henrie of Saint Asse, with many other both Divines and Lawyers, came into the Chapter-house at Westminster, where the said master Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur were brought before them, and the said cardinall there enquired of

master

master Bilney, whether he had privately or publikely preached or taught to the people, the opinions of Luther or any other condemned by the church, contrarie to the determination of the church. Whereupon Bilney answered, that wittinglie he had not preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any other, contrarie to the Catholike church. Then the cardinall asked him, whether he had not once made an oth before, that he should not preach, rehearse, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but should impugne the same every where? He answered, that he had made such an oth, but not lawfully[1]. Which interrogatories so ministred, and answeres made, the cardinall caused him to sweare, to answere plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him; as well in the citie and diocesse of London, as in the dioceſſe of Norwich and other places, and that he should do it without any craft, qualifying or leaving out any part of the truth.

After he was thus sworne and examined, the said cardinall proceeded to the examination of master Thomas Arthur there present, causing him to take the like oth, that master Bilney did. Which done, he asked of him whether he had not once told sir Thomas More knight, that in the Sacrament of the altar was not the verie bodie of Chriſt? Which interrogatorie he denied. Then the cardinall gave

[1] *But not lawfully.*] "The whole process is set down at length by Fox in all points according to Tonstall's Register, except one fault in the translation. When the cardinal asked Bilney whether he had not taken an oath before, not to preach or defend any of Luther's doctrines; he confessed he had done it, but not *judicially* (judicialiter, in the register.) This Fox translates not *lawfully*. In all other particulars there is an exact agreement between the Register and his Acts." Burnett's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. I. p. 31. Edit. 1715.

him

him time to deliberate till noone, and to bring in his answere in writing. After noone the same day, what time the examination of the foresaid Thomas Arthur was ended, the cardinall and bishops by their authoritie, *Ex officio*, did call in for witnesses before master Bilney, certaine men, namely, John Huggen, chiefe provinciall of the friers preachers thorowout all England, Geffrey Julles and Richard Jugworth, professours of Divinitie of the same order; Also William Jecket Gentleman, William Nelson, and Thomas Williams, which were sworne, that all favour, hate, love, or reward set apart, they should without concealing any falshood, or omitting any truth, speake their minds upon the articles laid against him, or preached by him, as well within the diocesse of London, as the diocesse of Norwich. And because he was otherwise occupied about the affaires of the realme, the cardinall committed the hearing of the matter to the bishop of London, and to other bishops there present, or to three of them, to proceed against all men, as well spirituall as temporall, as also against schedules, writings, and bookes, set forth and translated by Martine Luther, lately condemned by pope Leo the tenth [2], and by all manner of probable meanes, to enquire and root out their errors and opinions; and all such as were found culpable,

[2] *Condemned by pope Leo the tenth.*] This bull bears date, *Rome*, 17 *Calend. Julii.* A. D. 1520. It is printed intire in Bzovii *Annales*, ad ann. 1520. fol. 367—371, and in Gerdesii *Historia Reformationis*, Vol. I. p. 131—145. Appendix. It contains the same *forty-two* (or as they are here and in other places printed, *forty-one*) articles, which were afterwards condemned by Cardinal Wolsey, (Wilkins's *Concilia*, Vol. III. p. 690—693,) defended by Luther in his *Assertio Omnium Articulorum*, and written against by bishop Fisher in an elaborate work, intitled *Assertionis Lutheranæ Confutatio*, A. D. 1523.

to

to compel them to abjuration, according to the law; or if the matter so required, to deliver them unto the secular power, and to give them full power and authoritie to determine upon them.

The seven and twentith of November, in the yeere aforesaid, the bishop of London, with the bishops of Ely and Rochester, came unto the bishop of Norwiches house, where as likewise *Ex officio*, they did sweare certaine witnesses against master Thomas Arthur, in like sorte as they had done before against master Thomas Bilney, and so proceeded to the examination of master Arthur: which being ended upon certaine interrogatories, the bishop of London warned him by vertue of his oth, that he should not reveale his examinations, nor his answeres, nor any part or parcell thereof.

The second day of December, the bishops assembled againe in the same place, and sware more witnesses against master Bilney. That done, they called for master Arthur, who did revoke and condemne the articles against him ministered, and submitted himselfe to the punishment and judgement of the church.

The third day of December, the bishop of London with the other bishops assembling in the place aforesaid, after that Bilney had denied utterly to returne to the church of Rome, the bishop of London in discharge of his conscience (as he said) lest hee should hide any thing that had come to his hands, did really exhibite unto the Notaries, in the presence of the said master Bilney, certaine letters, to wit, five letters or epistles, with one schedule in one of the epistles, containing his articles and answeres folded therein, and another epistle folded in maner of a booke, with six leaves; which all and every one he commanded to be written out and registered, and the originals to be delivered to him againe.

This

This was done in the presence of master Bilney, desiring a copie of them; and he bound the Notaries with an oth, for the safe keeping of the copies, and true registring of the same. Which articles and answeres, with one of the same epistles, with certaine depositions deposed by the foresaid witnesses here follow truely drawne out partly of his own hand writing, and partly out of the register.

Interrogatories whereupon master Thomas Arthur, and master Bilney were accused and examined.

" 1 Whether they did beleeve with their hearts, that the assertions of Luther, which are impugned by the bishop of Rochester [3], were justly and godly condemned; and that Luther with his adherents, was a wicked and a detestable heretike.

2 Whether they did beleeve that the generall counsels and ecclesiastical constitutions once received and not abrogate againe, ought to be observed of all men, even for conscience sake, and not only for feare.

3 Whether they did beleeve that the popes lawes were profitable and necessarie to the preferment of godlines&c, not repugnant to the holy Scriptures, neither by any meanes to be abrogate, but to be reverenced of all men.

4 Whether they did beleeve that the catholike church may erre in the faith or no: and whether they thinke that catholike church to be a sensible church, which may be demonstrate and pointed

[3] *Impugned by the bishop of Rochester.*] This is the book of Bishop Fisher mentioned in the preceding note. It is an able and very important work. It came out in 1523, and was in so great request that five editions were printed before the year 1525.

out

out as it were with a finger; or that it is only a spirituall church, intelligible, and knowne only to God.

5 Whether they thinke that the images of Saints are christianly set in the churches; and ought to be worshipped of all true Christians.

6 Whether that a man may beleeve without hurt to his faith or note of heresie, the soules of Peter and Paul, and of our ladie, either to be, or not to be in heaven; and that there is yet no judgement given upon the soules departed.

7 Whether that a man may beleeve without spot of heresie, that our ladie remained not alwaies a virgin.

8 Whether holy daies and fasting daies ordained and received by the church, may be broken by any private man, at his will and pleasure, without sinne or obstinacie.

9 Whether we are bound to be obedient unto prelats, bishops and kings, by Gods commandement, as we are unto our parents.

10 Whether they beleeve that the church doth well and godly in praying to the Saints.

11 Whether they thinke that Christ only should be prayed unto, and that it is no heresie, if any man affirme that Saints should not be prayed unto.

12 Whether they do thinke all true Christians to be by like right priests, and all those to have received the keyes of binding and loosing, at the hands of Christ, which have obtained the Spirit of God; and only such, whether they be lay men or priests.

13 Whether they beleeve with their hearts that faith may be without workes and charitie.

14 Whether they beleeve that it is more agreeable to the faith, that the people should pray in their owne

owne tongue, than in a learned unknowne tongue; and whether they commend the prayer in a strange tongue or no.

15 Whether they would have the masses and Gospels openly to be read in churches in the vulgar tongue, rather than in the Latine tongue.

16 Whether they commend that children should only be taught the Lords Prayer, and not the Salutation of the virgin, or Creed.

17 Whether they do thinke the woodden beads which the common people doth use, worthie to be denied, or not.

18 Whether they do thinke the whole Scripture ought to be translated into English; or that it should be more profitable for the people, than as it is now read.

19 Whether they would have the organs and all maner of songs to be put out of the church of God

20 Whether they do think that it pertaineth to the bishops to punish any man with bonds or imprisonment, or that they have any temporall power and authoritie.

21 Whether they thinke that constitution to be godly, that no man should preach in another mans diocesse, without letters of commendation, and licence obtained of the bishop.

22 Whether they thinke the vowes of religious men, and private religion, to be constitute or ordained by the Spirit of God, neither by any meanes to be repugnant to a free and perfect christian life.

23 Whether they beleeve that we should pray for the dead; or beleeve that there is a purgatorie; or that we are bound by necessity of faith, to beleeve neither of them; but that it is free without finne, either to beleeve it or not to beleeve it.

24 Whether

24 Whether they beleeve that morall philosophie and naturall, do prevaile any thing for the better understanding of the Scriptures, and for the exposition and defence of the truth.

25 Whether they thinke that the popes indulgences and pardons are rather to be rejected than received.

26 Whether it be contrarie to the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, that Christians should by any meanes contend in the law, to seeke any maner of restitution.

27 Whether they beleeve all things pertaining to salvation and damnation to come of necessitie, and nothing to be in our owne willes.

28 Whether they beleeve God to be the author of all evill, as well of the fault, as of the punishment.

29 Whether they thinke masse only to be profitable to him which saith it; and whether every man may alter or leave out the rite and order of the masse, without hurt of faith.

30 Whether they beleeve that there can be any moral virtues without the grace of christian living, or that the virtues which Aristotle hath set out, are rather fained.

31 Whether they think it heresie, to teach the people, that it is free to give tithes unto priests, or to any other poore man.

32 Whether they do thinke it more Christian-like to take away the images out of the churches, or to permit them there to adorne them and honor them.

33 Whether they thinke it the part of a Christian man, that preachers should exhort men to pilgrimage, or to the worshipping of reliques.

34 Whether that thou Thomas Bilney, being cited upon heresie to appeare before my lord cardinall,

dinall, and before the day of thy appearance, not having made thy purgation upon those points that thou wast cited, has preached openly in divers churches of the citie and diocesse of London, without sufficient licence from the bishop, or any other."

Concerning the answeres unto these articles, (gentle Reader) for so much as in the most part of them, Bilney with Arthur seemed to consent and agree (although not fullie and directly, but by way and manner of qualifying) yet because he did not expressely denie them, it shall not be needfull heere to recite them all, save only such wherein he seemed to dissent from them.

To the first and second articles he answered affirmatively.

To the third he said, "I beleeve that many of the popes lawes are profitable and necessarie, and do prevaile unto godlinesse, neither in any point are repugnant unto the Scriptures, nor by any meanes are to be abrogate, but of all men to be observed and reverenced. But touching all those lawes I cannot determine: for, as for such as I have not read, I trust notwithstanding they are good also: and as for those that I have read, I did never reade them to the end and purpose to reprove them, but according to my power, to learne and understand them. And as touching the multitude of lawes, Saint Augustine in his time did much complaine, and Gerson also, who marvelled that we could by any meanes live in safetie amongst so many snares of constitutions, whenas our forefathers being pure before their fall, could not observe one only precept."

To the fourth article he said, "that the catholike church can by no meanes erre in faith, for it is the whole congregation of the elect, and so knowne

knowne only unto God, which knoweth who are his: otherwise, no man should be ascertained of another mans salvation, or of his owne, but only through faith and hope. For it is written, (Eccles. 5.) *No man knoweth whether he be worthie of hatred or love.* It is also sensible, and may be demonstrate so far forth as it is sufficient to establish us in all things, that are to be beleeved and done. For I may truly say of the generall councell being congregate in the Holy Ghost; Behold heere the catholike Church, denominating the whole by the most worthie part."

To the fifth article, he answered affirmatively in these words, *Cum sint libri Laicorum, adorare oportet, at non imaginem, sed prototypon.*

To the sixth article he answered, "that he did not beleeve that they are in heaven, being so taught by the Scriptures, and holy fathers of the church."

To the seventh article he said, "that it is not to be thought contrarie."

To the eighth article, whether a man may not observe the feasts and fasts of the church prescribed, he thought "that there is no man, but he ought to observe them."

To the ninth article he said, "that we are likewise bound as unto parents."

To the fourteenth article he answered thus: "The fourteenth chapter of St. Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians, mooveth me to beleeve, that it is best, that the people should have the Lords Prayer, and the Apostles Creed in English, so that their devotion might the more be furthered by the understanding thereof, and also that thereby they might be the more prompt and expert in the articles of their faith: of the which it is to be feared, a great number are ignorant. Surely I have heard

heard many say, that they never heard speake of the resurrection of the bodie, and being certified thereof, but they became much more apt and readie unto goodnesse, and more fearefull to do evill."

To the fifteenth article he said, "he would wish that the Gospels and Epistles should be read in English. *For I would* (saith Paul, 1 Cor. 14.) *rather have five words*, &c. *That the church might be edified*, &c. And Chrysostome exhorteth his hearers to looke upon bookes, that they might the better commit unto memorie those things which they had heard. And Saint Bede did translate Saint Johns Gospell into English."

Touching the eighteenth article, for the translation of the Scripture into English, "concerning the whole, he did partly doubt. Notwithstanding, he wished that the Gospels and Epistles of the day might be read in English, that the people might be made the more apt to heare Sermons. But heere some will say, there might also be danger for errour. Whereunto he answered: But good and vigilant pastors might easilie helpe that matter, by adding the plaine interpretation of the fathers in the margents, in English, upon the darke and obscure places, which would put away all doubts. O how great profit of soules should the vigilant pastors get thereby, which contrariwise through their slothfulnesse bring great ruine and decay!"

To the five and twentieth article, as touching pardons[*], he said, "that as they be used, and have too

[*] *As touching pardons.*] There was no point from which Luther derived with greater success the eloquence with which he thundered against the Vatican, than that of the anti-christian doctrine of pardons and indulgences, and the disgraceful traffic in the sale of them, so prevalent in his days. But that part of the history of the Reformation needs not to be

too long been, it were better that they should be restrained, than that they should be any longer used as they have been, to the injurie of Christs passion."

Touching

be enlarged upon in this place. Only it may be proper by a few domestic anecdotes and authorities to shew what progress the same pernicious doctrine and practice had made in this country.

In the latter end of the year 1500, being the year of jubilee, pope Alexander VI. sent a commissary into this kingdom, to distribute, as he called it, *the heavenly grace*, to all such as, prevented by any forcible impediment, could not be present at Rome to receive the benefit there. The articles contained in this bull, with the sums of money required of each person in proportion to his means, to intitle him to partake in the promised advantages, are given by Weever in the discourse prefixed to his *Funeral Monuments*, p. 158—162, edit. 1767. In Becon's *Reliques of Rome*, Works, Vol. III. fol. 205—207, and in Bp. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. II. p. 138—140, Records, may be found an account of the chief indulgences granted by different popes to those who shall say devoutly certain prayers therein specified. One of the most common purposes for which they were made use of was the raising of money and other supplies for the building of monasteries, abbies, and churches. Of this it would be easy to produce many examples. But we must confine ourselves within narrow limits. In the year 1112, previously to the erection of the abbey at Crowland, the abbot obtained of the archbishops and bishops of England an indulgence for remitting the third part of all penances injoined for sins committed, to every person who should help forward that good work: and with this indulgence he sent the monks abroad into all quarters to gather money, who returned after great success. On the day appointed for laying the foundation there was a very numerous appearance of nobles, prelates, and commons; and after mass and anthems sung, the abbot himself laid the first stone, and the nobles and others, according to their degrees and quality, couched their stones respectively, and laid upon them sums of money; others gave their deeds of lands, advowsons of churches, certain measures of wheat, or engaged to pay so many labourers, masons, carpenters, &c. till the work was finished. The common people and townships, for their parts, offered with a zealous devotion, some money, others certain

days

Touching the six and twentieth article, he said, " that it is not against the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, to contend in the law, so it be done with charitie, if Saint Augustine, and the reverend father Marcus Marulus did not erre, which granted that libertie to the weake Christians: albeit that true Christians ought to give eare unto Saint Pauls

days of labour; some the building of whole pillars, others a certain extent of the walls, windows, &c. all striving to outvie each other. After this, the abbot in a solemn speech, commending their bounty, and granting to them and theirs all spiritual benefits in the church, and a participation in the merit of all the prayers, fastings, &c. gave his blessing to the assembly, and dismissed them, well satisfied with their work, to their respective homes. See Staveley's *History of Churches in England*, p. 57.

But these pardons were not always converted to purposes so beneficial; since by them, as Wickliffe assures us, many men were deceived, and " trusten to flee to heaven withouten pain, and *therefore dreaden sin the less.*" Lewis's *History*, p. 139. They were often made the incentive to sanguinary wars, crusades, and idle pilgrimages. And in many ways, among private individuals, they encouraged the grossest errors and immoralities. " Yea it is well known that their pardons and other of theyr trompery hath bene bought and sold in Lombard-strete, and in other places, as thou wylt bye and sell an horse in Smith-field." *Lamentation against the City of London.* Signat. c. 8. A. D. 1548. " In times past (says bishop Grindal) men made preparations before death, but (God knoweth) farre out of square. Some redemed for money great plentye of indulgencies from Rome, and he that had the greatest plentie of them, to bee cast with him into his grave, when he was buried (*whiche I myselfe have sene done*) was counted the best prepared for death." *Sermon at the Funeral Solemnity of the Emperor Ferdinand, preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, Oct. 3, 1564.* Signat. D. 3. But perhaps no use was ever made of them which can be accounted more melancholy than the following. Proclamation was occasionally made at the burning of the martyrs, " that whosever did bring a faggot or a stake to the burning of a hereticke should have forty daies of pardon. Whereby it came to pass, that many ignorant people caused *their children to beare billets and faggots* to their burning." Fox's *Acts*, p. 897. See also Fox, p. 1105. and p. 1120.

saying; *Why do ye not rather suffer injurie?* (1. Cor. 6.) And to Christ himselfe, which saith: *He that would contend with thee in the law, and take away thy coate, give him thy cloke also.*"

Touching the eight and twentith, he answered, "that God is the author of the punishment only, but not of the offence, as Basilius Magnus teacheth in his Sermon upon these words of the Prophet, (Amos 3.): *Non est malum in civitate quod non fecit dominus.* And Saint Augustine in another place (as I remember) prayeth; *That he be not led into that temptation, that he should beleeve God to be the author of sinne and wickednesse.*"

Heere insueth a briefe Summarie or Collection of certaine Depositions, deposed by the severall Witnesses aforenamed, upon certaine Interrogatories ministered unto them, for the Inquirie of Master Bilneyes Doctrine and Preaching.

"First it was deposed, that in his sermon in Christs church in Ipswich, he should preach and say, our Saviour Christ is our mediatour betweene us and the Father: what should we need then to seeke any Saint for remedie? Wherefore, it is great injurie to the blood of Christ, to make such petitions, and blaspheneth our Saviour.

That man is so unperfect of himselfe, that he can in no wise merit by his owne deeds.

Also, that the comming of Christ was long prophesied before, and desired by the Prophets. But John Baptist being more than a Prophet, did not only prophecie, but with his finger shewed him, saying: (John 9.) *Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi.* Then if this were the very Lambe which John did demonstrate, that taketh away the sins of the world, what injurie is it to our Saviour

Christ, that to be buried in Saint Francis cowle[5] should remit foure parts of penance? what is then left

[5] *To be buried in Saint Francis cowle.*] The friars succeeded in persuading the people, "that they could get a *great thing* of the pope, or of cardinals in England, *better cheap* than other procurators could." (Wickliffe *against the Friars*, p. 60, A. D. 1608): and by these means they gradually usurped and drew away from the secular clergy and the parochial churches, to themselves and their own abbies, the administering of the several sacraments, hearing of confessions, and burials of the dead, especially of all the wealthy part of the community; together with such other religious offices, as might be converted to purposes of gain. "Friars drawen to them confession, and burying of riche men by manie subtil means, and masse-pence, and trentals, but they will not come to poore mens *Dirige*, ne receave them to be buried amongst them." (Wickliffe against Friars, p. 28). By having his grave within the precincts of the Abbey, they made the rich man believe, that he should partake of the *merit* of all the masses, prayers, fastings, and other good works which should continue, till the day of doom, to be performed in that holy spot. But to be buried in a cowl or hood, and the rest of a friar's habit, especially if accompanied and corroborated by a letter of fraternity, this was a sure protection against all manner of harm. "They techen lords and *namcliche* (especially) *ladies*, that if they dien in *Francis's habite*, they shoulden never come to Hell, for virtue thereof." Wickliffe in *Lewis's History*, p. 22. In Pierce the Ploughman's Creed, we have an incomparable description of these arts of the friars. One of them is supposed to be wheedling a man out of his money: and among other equally strong arguments, having told the person of whom he is begging, that the order are now building a magnificent abbey, for which he is employed to gather the means, he promises,

And mightest thou amenden us with moneye of thyn owen,
Thou shouldest knely before Christ in compas of gold
In the wyde window westward wel neigh in the mydel;
And Saint Francis hymselfe shall folden thee in his cope,
And present thee to the Trinite, and praye for thy synnes.
Thy name shall noblich ben wryten and wrought for the nones,
And in remembrance of thee yrad (read) there for ever." See Lewis's *History of Wickliffe*, p. 307.

"King

left to our Saviour Christ, which taketh away the sins of the world? This I will justifie to be a great blasphemie to the blood of Christ.

Also, that it was a great folly to go on pilgrimage; and that preachers in times past have been Antichrists, and now it hath pleased God somewhat to shew forth their falshood and errors.

Also, that the miracles done at Walsingham, at Canterburie, and there in Ipswich, were done by the divel, through the sufferance of God, to blind the poore people: and that the pope had not the

" King John, being buried at Worcester, under the high altar, was wrapped in *a monk's cowl*, which the superstition of those times accounted sacred. And I find also, that some of the honourable family of the Hastings were interred in habits of the friars minors, in their convent church at Coventry." Staveley's *Hist. of Churches in England*, p. 265. In truth, it is certain, that the practice was a very frequent one. King John died in the year 1216. Thus early then the custom must have begun. It is referred to, along with other superstitions of a like nature, in the following extract from a sermon, which has been already cited, preached on occasion of the funeral solemnity of the emperor Ferdinand, by Grindall, then bishop of London. " In times past men made preparacions afore death, but (God knoweth) farre out of square. Some redemed for money great plentye of indulgencies from Rome, and he that had the greatest plentie of them, to be cast with him into his grave when he was buried, (whiche I myself have sene done) was counted the best prepared for death. Others made provisions or foundacions to have great number of masses said for them after death, thereby to be the sooner delivered out of purgatorie. Other there were that thought it a more reasonable and speedye waye to quench the fire of purgatory afore they fel into it; and therefore they procured a great number of masses and trentals to be said for them afore death. Some of those that have bene learned, the more was the pity, have died in an *obscruant or gray friars cowle*, and afterward bene buried in the same, and so thought themselves well prepared. But alas! al these preparacions were preposterous." *Funeral Sermon*, signat. D 3. b. A. D. 1564. But the largest and best account, and exposure of this lamentable folly, may be read in Erasmus's Colloquy, intitled *Exequiæ Seraphicæ*.

keyes that Peter had, except he follow Peter in his living.

Moreover, it was deposed against him, that he was notoriously suspected as an heretike, and twice pulled out of the pulpit in the diocesse of Norwich.

Also it was deposed against him, that he should in the parish church of Willesdon, exhort the people to put away their gods of silver and gold, and leave their offerings unto them, for that such things as they offered, have been knowne oftentimes afterward to have been given to the stewes. Also that Jewes and Saracens would have become Christian men[6] long ago, had it not been for the idolatrie of Christian men in offering of candles, waxe, and money to stockes and stones."

Over and besides these cavilling matters, articuled and deposed against him, heere follow certaine other articles, whereupon he was detected, gathered out of his Sermon, which he preached in the parish church of Saint Magnus, in Whitson weeke, in the yeere of our Lord, 1527.

Certaine other Articles producted against Master Thomas Bilney.

"First he said, pray you only to God, and to no Saints, rehearsing the Letanie; and when he

[6] *Would have become christian men.*] See Becon's works, vol. III. fol. 49 and 51. A. D. 1564. But arguments of this kind must not be carried too far. The reason of Jews and Saracens will not always be *right* reason; and a fit pattern for christians to conform themselves to. An argument very like the above has been not unfrequently urged by Socinian writers against the doctrines of the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, the atonement, &c. If we would make christianity palateable (say they) to Jews and Mohammedans, we must not press these high and unintelligible notions. See Leslie's *Theological Works*; Horsley's *Tracts*, &c.

came

came to *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis,* he said, stay there[7].

He said, that christian men ought to worship God only, and no Saints.

He said, that christian people should set up no lights[8] before the Images of Saints: for Saints in heaven

[7] *Stay there.*] This is the petition in the Romish Litanies which follows next after that to the Trinity. It is succeeded by many others addressed to different saints. Bilney does not mean that the invocation of the virgin may be retained; but that we should stop immediately after the petition to the Trinity. "If there be but one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, where is our blessed ladie? Where is then saint Peter, and other saints?" Bilney in Fox's *Acts*, p. 915. Among the erroneous opinions complained of to the prelates by the lower house of convocation, June 23, 1536, as commonly preached, taught, and spoken, to the slander of this noble realm, disquietness of the people, and damage of christian souls, this is one: "Item, it is preached against the Litany, and also said, that it was never merry in England since the Litany was ordained, and *Sancta Maria, Sancta Catharina*, &c. sung and said." Wilkins's *Concilia*, Vol. III. p. 805.

[8] *Should set up no lights.*] The offering, finding, and setting up of wax tapers before images was a *good work*, from which no one was excused. And in this way, though it was easy to every separate individual, yet upon the whole to some churches it became a source of very considerable profit. In the Northumberland Houshold Book, p. 338, we find that the earl paid yearly for "the upholdyng of a light of wax" before the blood of Hales, our lady at Walsingham, saint Margaret in Lincolnshire, and our lady of Doncaster, the several sums of 10*s*., 6*s*. 8*d*., 10*s*., and 13*s*. 4*d*. In what estimation the people were taught to regard this act of devotion, may be collected from the following story, which continued to be read in churches, even till after the death of Bilney. On this account the extract is historically important, and the insertion of it may therefore be excused. In many other respects, it is painful to have to dwell thus long upon scenes so disgraceful. But the purpose of the editor in these compilations will be much misunderstood, if it be not believed, that while he has also other salutary objects in view, he is peculiarly solicitous

by

heaven need no light, and the Images have no eyes to see.

He

by them to turn the reader's thoughts upon himself, and upon that deceitfulness of sin, which will insinuate itself into the purest profession of religion. "Thou standest by *Faith*. Be not high-minded, but fear."

"Also ther was a woman of evyll lyvyng, and she dyd never good dede in her lyfe, *but only founde a candell brennyng before our lady*. So it happed, whan she was deed, fendes came to her, and toke her soule. And whan they were goynge, there came two aungels, and rebuked the fendes, why they were so bolde for to take the soule, without dome. Than sayd the fendes, ther nedeth none *(no doom)*; she dyde never good dede. Than sayd the aungels, take and brynge the soule before our lady. And so they dyde. But whan it was founde that she dyde never good dede, she must nedes go to helle. Than sayd our lady, *She founde a candell brennynge afore me*, and it was ever her wyll whyle she lyved. And therfore I wyll be as kynde to her, as she was to me. And bad an angel take a grete serge *(taper)* and lyght it, and [illegible] it before her in helle. And our lady charged and comm[illegible]as ded that there sholde no fende come there nye; but let it [illegible]onde brenn[illegible]ge for ever more, to comforte all that ben in hell. Than sayd the fendes, they had lever *(rather)* leave the soule, than do so. Than badde our lady take the soule, and bere it to the body agayne. So they dyd. And when she was a-lyve, she bethought her oon her streyght dome there as she was at; and wente *and shrove her to a preest*, and lyved longe after; and she amended her lyf, and was ever after a good woman, and an holy." *Festival*, fol. 91, imprinted by Richard Faques. Compare same work, fol. 24.

There is enough in the above narration, without going any further, to shew that the reformers had good reason to condemn the *abuse* of this, and other such-like ceremonies, as they were taught and practised in those times. Let us now see, what could be pleaded in their defence, in a work which had particular respect to the opinions of Bilney, by a most ingenious and powerful advocate. "Christ also promised that saint Mary Magdalene shoulde be worshipped thoroughe the world, and have here an honourable remembrance, for that she bestowed that precyouse oynteiment uppon hys holy hed. Which thing whan I consider, it maketh me mervaile of the madnesse of these heretyques, that barke against the olde auncient

He said, as Ezechias destroyed the brasen Serpent that Moses made by the commandement of God, even so should kings and princes now adaies destroy and burne the Images of Saints set up in churches.

These five hundred yeeres there hath been no good pope, nor in all the time past, we can find but fiftie; for they have neither preached, nor lived wel, or conformablie to their dignitie: Wherfore till now they have borne the keys of Simonie. Against whom, good people, we must preach and teach unto you. For we cannot come to them, it is great pitie: they have sore slandered the blood of Christ.

The people have used foolishly of late, pilgrimages, which for them had been better they had been at home.

Many have made certaine vowes, which be not possible for them to fulfill, and those nothing meritorious.

The preachers before this have been Antichrists, and now it hath pleased our Saviour Christ, to shew

auncient customes of Christes chyrch, mockinge the settinge up of candels, and with folish facecies (jestings—*facetiæ*), and blasphemous mockery demaunde, *Whether God and hys saintes lack lyght*, or *Whether it be nyght with them, that they cannot se without candle*. They might as well aske, what good dyd that oyntment to Cristes hed. But the heretiques grudge at the cost now, as theyr brother Judas dyd than; and say it were better spent in almes upon a pore folke: and thys saye many of them which can neyther finde in theyr harte to spende upon the one nor the other. And some spende sometyme upon the one for none other entente, but to the end that they may the more boldlye rebuke and rayle against the other. But let them all, by that ensample of the holy woman, and by these wordes of our Saviour, lerne that God delyteth to se the fervent hete of the hartis devocion boyle out by the body, and to do him service with all such goodes of fortune as God hath given a man." Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue concerning Heresies*. A. D. 1528. Works, p. 118.

their

their false errours, and to teach another way and manner of the holy Gospell of Christ, to the comfort of your soules.

I trust that there shall and will come other besides me[9], which shall shew and preach to you the same faith and maner of living, that I do shew and preach to you, which is the verie true Gospell of our Saviour Christ, and the mind of the holy Fathers, whereby you shall be brought from their errours, wherein you have been long seduced: for before this, there have been many that have slandered you, and the Gospell of our Saviour Christ, of whom spake our Saviour, Matth. 18. *Qui scandalizaverit unum de pusillis istis, qui in me credit*, &c."

These and many other such like depositions were deposed against him by the deponents and witnesses before sworne, which wholly to recite, would be too long and tedious: wherefore these shall suffice at this time, being the principall matters, and in maner the effect of all the rest.

The fourth day of December, the bishop of London with the other bishops his assistants, assembled againe in the Chapter house of Westminster; whither also master Bilney was brought, and was exhorted and admonished to abjure and recant: who answer-

9 *Will come other besides me.*] Thus it was objected also against Thomas Arthur, Bilney's friend and companion in these examinations, that he said, "Good people, if I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the Gospel of God, yet there are seven thousand more that would preach the Gospel of God, as I do now. Therefore good people, good people, (which words he often rehearsed, as it were lamenting), think not that if these tyrants and persecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the Gospel therefore is to be forsaken.—This article he confessed that he spake in like words and sense, saving that he made no mention of tyrants." Fox's *Acts*, p. 911.

ed,

ed, that he would stand to his conscience. Then the bishop of London with the other bishops, *Ex officio*, did publish the depositions of the witnesses, with his articles and answeres, commanding that they should be read. That done, the bishop exhorted him againe to deliberate with himselfe, whether he would returne to the church, and renounce his opinions or no, and bad him to depart into a void place, and there to deliberate with himselfe. Which done, the bishop asked him againe if he would returne. Who answered; *Fiat justitia, et judicium in nomine Domini:* and being divers times admonished to abjure, he would make no other answere, but *Fiat justitia*, &c. And, *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea*, Psalm. 118. Then the bishop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, said; *In nomine Patris & Filij & Spiritus sancti. Amen. Exurgat Deus & dissipentur inimici ejus:* and making a crosse on his forehead and his brest, by the counsell of the other bishops, he gave sentence against master Bilney, being there present, in this manner.

"I, by the consent and counsell of my brethren heere present, do pronounce thee Thomas Bilney, who hast been accused of divers articles, to be convict of heresie; and for the rest of the sentence, we take deliberation till to morrow."

The fifth day of December the bishops assembled there againe; before whom Bilney was brought, whom the bishop asked if he would yet returne to the unitie of the church, and revoke his heresies which he had preached. Whereupon Bilney answered, "that he would not be a slander to the Gospell, trusting that he was not separat from the church; and that, if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might have thirtie men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrarie brought in against him:" which witnesses, the

the bishop said came too late; for after publication, they could not be received by the law. Then Bilney alleaging the storie of Susan and Daniel, the bishop of London still exhorted him to returne to the unity of the church, and to abjure his heresies, and permitted him to go into some secret place, there to consult with his friends, till one of the clocke at the afternoone, of the same day.

At afternoone, the bishop of London againe asked him whether he would returne to the church and acknowledge his heresies. Bilney answered, that he trusted he was not separat from the church, and required time and place to bring in witnesses: which was refused. Then the bishop once againe required of him whether he would turne to the catholicke Church. Whereunto hee answered, that if they could teach and proove sufficiently that hee was convict, he would yeeld and submit himselfe, and desired againe to have time and space to bring in againe his refused witnesses; and other answere he would give none.

Then the bishop put master Bilney aside, and took counsel with his fellowes; and afterward calling in master Bilney, asked him againe whether he would abjure: but he would make no other answere than before. Then the bishop with the consent of the rest, did decree and determine that it was not lawfull to heare a petition which was against the law; and inquiring againe whether he would abjure, hee answered plainely, no, and desired to have time to consult with his friends in whom his trust was: and being once againe asked whether he would returne, and instantly desired thereunto, or else the sentence must be read; he required the bishop to give him licence to deliberate with himselfe untill the next morow, whether he might abjure the heresies wherewith he was defamed, or no. The

bishop

bishop granted him, that hee should have a little time to deliberate with master Dancaster: but Bilney required space till the next morrow, to consult with master Farmar and master Dancaster. But the bishop would not grant him his request, for feare lest he should appeale. But at the last, the bishop inclining unto him, granted him two nights respit to deliberate: that is to say, till Saturday at nine of the clocke afore noone, and then to give a plaine determinate answere, what he would doe in the premisses.

The seventh day of December, in the yeere and place aforesaid, the bishop of London, with the other bishops being assembled, Bilney also personallie appeared. Whom the bishop of London asked, whether he would now returne to the unitie of the church, and revoke the errors and heresies whereof he stood accused, detected, and convicted. Who answered, that now he was perswaded by master Dancaster and other his friends, he would submit himselfe, trusting that they would deale gentlie with him, both in his abjuration, and penance. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration: which the bishop granted. When he had read the same secretly by himselfe, and was returned, being demanded what he would doe in the premisses, he answered, that he would abjure[1] and submit himselfe;

[1] *That he would abjure.*] This abjuration is printed from bp. Tonstall's Register, by Collier, in his *Eccles. History*, Vol. II. p. 25, as follows:

"In the name of God, Amen. I, Thomas Bilney, priest, before you, right rev. father in God, &c. confessing and knowledging the true catholick and apostolick faith of holy church, intend by the grace of God, hereafter ever to persevere and abide in the true doctrine of holy church, and to detest and abjure all manner of heresies and articles following, whereupon I am now defamed, noted, vehemently suspected, and convicted;

selfe; and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed it, and delivered it to the bishop, which then did absolve him: and for his penance enjoyned him, that he should abide in the prison, appointed by the cardinall, till he were by him released: and moreover the next day he should goe before the procession, in the cathedrall church of S. Paul, bare-headed, with a fagot on his shoulder, and should stand before the preacher at Pauls Crosse, all the sermon time.

convicted; that is to say, that men should pray only to God, and to no saints. Item, that christian men ought to worship God and no saints. Item, that christian men ought to set up no lights before images of saints. Item, that men do not well to go on pilgrimages. Item, that man in no wise can merit by his own deeds. Item, that miracles daily shewed, be wrought by the devil by the sufferance of God. Item, that no pope has such power and authority as Peter had, except he be of like purity of life and perfection as Peter was. And in these articles, and in all other, I here expressly consent unto our mother the holy church of Rome, and apostolick doctrine of the same, and both in mouth and heart make knowledge, that whosoever hereafter doth preach, teach, or affirm, any of these articles, or any other heresies, contrary to the determination of the holy church, is worthy to be excluded from the communion of the same. And in case hereafter I do teach, preach, hold, or affirm any of these foresaid heresies, or any other, contrary to the determination of holy church, which by the grace of God I intend never to do, then I shall submit myself to the correction of my ordinary, according to the holy canons: and for these my trespasses and offences, I desire of you penance, which I promise by these holy evangelists and contents of this book by me bodily touched, truly to do, observe and fulfill. In witness whereof, to this my present abjuration, I have subscribed my name with my hand, and set to the sign of the cross."

To

To the Reverend Father in Christ, Cuthbert, Bishop of London, Thomas Bilney wisheth Health in Christ, with all Submission due unto such a Prelate.

"In this behalfe (most reverend father in Christ) I thinke myselfe most happie, that it is my chance to be called to examination before your reverence, for that you are of such wisdom and learning, of such integritie of life (which all men doe confesse to be in you) that even your selfe cannot chuse (if yee doe not too lightly esteeme Gods gifts in you) as often as you shall remember the great things which God hath done unto you, but straightwaies secretly in your heart, to his high praise, say: *He that is mightie hath done great things unto me, and holy is his name.* I rejoyce, that I have now happened upon such a Judge, and with all my heart give thanks unto God, which ruleth all things.

"And albeit (God is my witnesse) I know not my selfe guiltie of any errour in my sermons, neither of any heresie or sedition, which divers doe slander mee of, seeking rather their owne lucre and advantage, than the health of soules; notwithstanding I doe exceedingly rejoyce, that it is foreseene by Gods divine providence, that I should bee brought before the tribunall seat of Tonstall, who knoweth as well as any other, that there will never be wanting Jannes and Jambres, which will resist the truth; that there shall never bee lacking some Elymas[2], which will goe about to subvert the straight waies of the Lord; and finallie, that some

[2] *Some Elymas.*] Acts, chap. 13. Pythonissa. *Acts* 16. Nicolaitæ. *Apocap.* 2. Fox.

Demetrius,

Demetrius, Pithonisse, Balaams, Nicolaites, Cains, and Ismaels, will be alwaies at hand, which will greedilie hunt and seeke after that which pertaineth unto themselves, and not that which pertaineth to Jesus Christ. How can it then bee, that they can suffer Christ to be truelie and sincerelie preached? For if the people begin once whollie in every place, to put their confidence in Christ, which was for them crucified, then straightwaies that which they have hitherto imbraced instead of Christ shall utterly decay in the hearts of the faithfull. Then they shall understand that Christ is not in this place, or in that place, but the kingdome of God to bee in themselves. Then shall they plainely see that the father is not to be worshipped, neither in the mount of Samaria, neither at Hierusalem, but in all places, in spirit and truth. Which thing if it come once to passe, the beasts of the field will thinke all their gain and lucre lost. In whom the saying of Ezechiel (Ezech. 34.) is fulfilled; *My sheepe are dispersed because they had no shepheard, and are devoured of the beasts of the field, and straied abroad: my flocke hath erred and wandred in every mountaine, and upon every high hill, and is dispersed thoroweout all the earth, and there is no man which hath sought to gather them together: no, there was no man which once sought after them.* But if any man would seeke to reduce those which were gone astray, into the fold of Christ, that is, the unitie of faith; by and by, there rise up certaine against him, which are named pastors, but indeed are wolves, which seeke no other thing of their flocke, but the milke, wooll, and fell, leaving both their owne soules, and the soules of their flocke unto the divell.

"These men, I say, rise up like unto Demetrius, crying out, This hereticke disswadeth and seduceth

seduceth much people every where, saying, *That they are not gods, which are made with hands*, (Acts 19.) These are they, these I say (most reverend father) are they, which under the pretence of persecuting heretikes, follow their owne licentious life: enemies unto the crosse of Christ, which can suffer and beare any thing rather, than the sincere preaching of Christ crucified for our sinnes. These are they unto whom Christ threatneth eternall damnation, where he saith, *Woe bee unto you scribes, pharisies, and hypocrites, which shut up the kingdome of heaven before men, and you yourselves enter not in, neither suffer those which would enter, to come in.* These are they which have come in another way, to the charge of soules, as it appeareth. *For if any man* (saith Christ) *come in by me, he shall be saved, and shall come in and goe out, and find pasture*, (John 10). These men doe not find pasture (for they never teach) and draw others after them, that they should enter by Christ, which alone is the doore, whereby wee must come unto the father: but set before the people another way[3], perswading them

[3] *Set before the people another way.*] This is illustrated by a passage from another letter of Bilney to bishop Tonstal. "But here, whether Christ have been a long time heard, I know not, for that I have not heard all the preachers of England; and if I had heard them, yet til it was within this yeere or two, I could not sufficiently judge of them. But this I dare be bold to affirme, that as many as I have heard of late preach, (I speake even of the most famous) they have preached such repentance, that if I had heard such preachers of repentance in times past, I should utterlie have been in despaire. And to speak of one of those famous men (not uttering his name): after he had sharpely inveighed against vice, wherein he pleased every godly man, forsomuch as it could not bee sufficientlie cried out upon, hee concluded; *Behold*, (said he), *thou hast lien rotten in thine owne lusts, by the space of these sixty yeeres, even as a beast in his owne dung, and wilt thou presume in*

them to come unto God through good works, oftentimes speaking nothing at all of Christ, thereby seeking rather their own gaine and lucre, than the salvation of soules: in this point being worse than they which upon Christ being the foundation, doe build wood, hay, and straw. These men confesse that they know Christ, but by their deeds they deny him.

"These are those Physitions, upon whom that woman which was twelve yeeres vexed with the bloudie flixe, had consumed all that shee had, and felt no helpe, but was still worse and worse, untill such time as at the last, shee came unto Christ, and after shee had once touched the hem of his vesture through faith, shee was so healed, that by and by she felt the same in her bodie. O mightie power of the most highest! which I also miserable sinner have often tasted and felt. Which before that I could come unto Christ, had even likewise spent all that I had upon those ignorant physitions, that is to say, unlearned hearers of confession, so that there was but small force of strength left in me, (which of nature was but weake) small store of mony, and very little wit or understanding: for they appointed mee fastings, watching, buying of pardons, and masses: in all which things (as I now understand) they sought rather their owne gaine, than the salvation of my sicke and languishing soule.

in one yeere to go forward toward heaven, and that in thine age, as much as thou wentest backwards from heaven towards hell in sixty yeeres?—Is not this think you a goodly argument? Is this the preaching of repentance in the name of Jesus? Or rather, to tread downe Christ with Anti-Christ's doctrine? For what other thing did he speak in effect, than that Christ died in vaine for thee? He will not be thy Jesus or Saviour: thou must make satisfaction for thyself, or else thou shalt perish eternallie." Fox's *Acts*, p. 918.

"But

" But at the last I heard speake of Jesus, even then when the new Testament was first set forth by Erasmus. Which when I understood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather for the Latine, than for the word of God, (for at that time, I knew not what it meant) I bought it even by the providence of God, as I doe now wel understand and perceive: And at the first reading, as I well remember, I chanced upon this sentence of Saint Paul (O most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soule!) in his first epistle to Timothy and first chapter; *It is a true saying and worthie of all men to be imbraced, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chiefe and principall.* This one sentence, through Gods instruction and inward working, which I did not then perceive, did so exhilarate my hart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sinnes, and being almost in despaire, that immediately I felt a marvellous comfort and quietnesse, insomuch, *that my brused bones leapt for joy,* (Psalm. 50.)

" After this, the Scripture began to be more pleasant unto me than the honie or the honie comb: wherein I learned that all my travels, all my fasting and watching, all the redemption of masses and pardons, being done without truth in Christ, which onelie saveth his people from their sinnes: these, I say, I learned to be nothing else but even (as S. Augustine saith) a hastie and swift running out of the right way, or else much like to the vesture made of fig leaves, wherwithall Adam and Eve went about in vaine, to cover them; and could never before obtaine quietnesse and rest, untill they beleeved in the promise of God, that Christ the seed of the woman, should tread upon the serpents head. Neither could I be relieved or eased of the sharpe stings and bitings of my sinnes, before that

I was taught of God that lesson, which Christ speaketh of in the third chapter of John; *Even as Moses exalted the serpent in the desert, so shall the son of man be exalted, that all which beleeve on him should not perish, but have life everlasting.*

" As soone as (according to the measure of grace given unto me of God) I began to tast and savour of this heavenly lesson, which no man can teach but onely God, which revealed the same unto Peter; I desired the Lord to increase my faith. And at last, I desired nothing more, than that I being so comforted by him, might be strengthened by his holy spirit and grace from above, that I might teach the wicked his wales, which are mercie and truth, and that the wicked might be converted unto him by me, which sometime was also wicked. Which thing, whilest that with all my power I did endevour, before my Lord Cardinall and your fatherhood Christ was blasphemed in me (and this is my onelie comfort in these my afflictions) whom with my whole power I do teach and set forth, *being made for us by God his father, our wisdome, righteousnesse, sanctification and redemption, and finally, our satisfaction. Who was made sinne for us,* (that is to say, a sacrifice for sinne) *that we through him, should be made the righteousnesse of God. Who became accursed for us, to redeeme us from the curse of the law: Who also came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance;* the righteous (I say) which falslie judge and thinke themselves so to be; *(for all men have sinned and lacke the glory of God; wherby he freely forgiveth sins unto all beleevers, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus)* because that all mankind was grievouslie wounded in him which fell amongst theeves betweene Jerusalem and Jericho.

" And

" And therfore with al my whole power, I teach that al men should first acknowledge their sinnes and condemne them, and afterward hunger and thirst for that righteousnesse, whereof Saint Paul speaketh (Rom. 3); *The righteousnesse of God by faith in Jesus Christ, is upon all them which beleeve in him, for there is no difference, all have sinned, and lacke the glory of God, and are justified freely through his grace, by the redemption which is in Jesus Christ.* The which, whosoever doth hunger or thirst for, without doubt, they shall at the length so be satisfied, that they shall not hunger and thirst for ever.

" But forsomuch as this hunger and thirst was wont to bee quenched with the fulnesse of mans righteousnesse, which is wrought through the faith of our owne elect and chosen works, as pilgrimages, buying of pardons, offering of candles, elect and chosen fasts, and oftentimes superstitious, and finallie all kind of voluntarie devotions (as they call them[4]) against the which Gods word speaketh plainelie in the fourth of Deuteronomy and in the twelfth, saying, *Thou shalt not doe that which seemeth good unto thy selfe, but that which I command thee for to doe, that doe thou, neither adding to, neither diminishing any thing from it:* therefore I say, oftentimes have I spoken of those workes, not condemning them (as God I take to my witnesse) but reprooving their abuse, making the lawfull use of them manifest, even unto children; exhorting all men not so to cleave unto them, that they being satisfied therewith, should loath or wax wearie

[4] *Voluntarie devotions (as they call them).*] " *Voluntary* works besides, over and above God's commandments, which *they call* works of supererogation, &c." Article 14th of the Church of England.

of Christ, as many doe. In whom I bid your fatherhood most prosperouslie well to fare.

"And this is the whole summe. If you will appoint me to dilate more at large the things here touched, I will not refuse to doe it, so that you will grant me, time: for to doe it out of hand, I am not able for the weaknesse of my body; being readie alwaies if I have erred in any thing, to bee better instructed."

After his abjuration made, about the yeere of our Lord 1529. the said Bilney took such repentance and sorrow, that he was neere the point of utter despaire: as by the words of M. Latimer, is credible testified; whose words for my better discharge, I thought heere to annexe, written in his seventh sermon preached before K. Edward, which be these:

"I knew a man my selfe, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, who what time he had borne his fagot, and was come againe to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himselfe (beholding this image of death) that his friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were faine to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man should run him thorow the heart with a sword. Yet afterward for all this, he was revived and tooke his death patientlie, and died well against the tyrannicall see of Rome."

Againe, the said M. Latimer speaking of Bilney in another of his sermons preached in Lincolnshire, hath these words following; "That same M. Bilney, which was burnt here in England for Gods words sake, was induced and perswaded by his friends

friends to beare a fagot at the time when the Cardinall was aloft, and bare the swinge. Now when the same Bilney came to Cambridge again, a whole yeere after, he was in such an anguish and agonie, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of Gods word: for he thought that all the whole scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation. So that I many a time communed with him (for I was familiarlie acquainted with him) but al things whatsoever any man could alleage to his comfort, seemed unto him to make against him. Yet for all that, afterward he came againe: God indued him with such strength and perfectnes of faith, that he not only confessed his faith in the Gospell of our saviour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his bodie to be burned for that same gospels sake, which we now preach in England."

Furthermore, in the first sermon of the said M. Latimer before the dutches of Suffolke, hee yet speaking more of Bilney, inferreth as followeth; "Here I have (saith he) occasion to tell you a storie which happened at Cambridge. M. Bilney, or rather S. Bilney, that suffered death for Gods words sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thanke him next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God. For I was an obstinate papist as any was in England: insomuch that when I should be made Bacheler of divinitie, my whole Oration went against Philip Melancthon and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterward in my studie, and desired me for Gods sake to heare his confession. I did so: and (to say the truth) by his confession I learned more than afore in many yeeres.

So

So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsake the schoole-doctors and such fooleries." And much more hee hath of the same matter, which yee may see hereafter in the life of master Latimer.

By this it appeareth how vehementlie this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration, the space almost of two yeeres, that is, from the yeere 1529. to the yeere 1531. It followed then that he by Gods grace and good counsell, came at length to some quiet of conscience, being fullie resolved to give over his life for the confession of that truth, which before hee had renounced. And thus being fully determined in his mind, and setting his time, hee tooke his leave in Trinitie hall at ten of the clocke at night, of certaine of his friends, and said that he would goe to Jerusalem; alluding belike to the words and example of Christ in the Gospell going up to Jerusalem, what time hee was appointed to suffer his passion. And so Bilney meaning to give over his life for the testimonie of Christs Gospell, told his friends that hee would goe up to Jerusalem, and so would see them no more; and immediatly departed to Northfolke, and there preached first privilie in housholds to confirme the brethren and sisters, and also to confirme the anchresse whom he had converted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the fields, confessing his fact, and preaching publikely that doctrine, which he before had abjured, to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends in causes of religion. And so setting forward in his journey toward the celestiall Jerusalem, he departed from thence to the Anchresse in Norwich, and there gave her a new Testament of Tindals translation, and the Obedience of a Christian man; whereupon

whereupon he was apprehended and carried to prison there to remaine, till the blind bishop Nixe sent up for a writ to burne him.

In the meane season, the friers and religious men, with the residue of their doctors, civil and canon, resorted to him, busilie labouring to perswade him not to die in those opinions, saying, he should be damned bodie and soule, if hee so continued. Among whom, first were sent to him of the bishop, doctour Call minister, (as they call him) or provinciall of the Gray friers, and doctor Stokes an Auguſtine frier, who lay with him in prison in disputation, till the writ came that he should be burned. Doctour Call by the word of God, through the meanes of Bilneys doctrine, and good life, whereof hee had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the Gospels side. Doctor Stokes remained obdurate, and doth yet to this day; whose heart also the Lord, if it bee his will, reforme, and open the eies of his old age, that he may forsake the former blindnes of his youth! Another great doer against him was one Frier Bird, with one eie, Provinciall of the white friers. This Bird was a suffragane in Coventrie, and after, bishop of Chester, and was he that brought apples to Boner, mentioned [5] in the storie of Hawkes. Another was a blacke

[5] *Brought apples to Boner, mentioned.*] "The next daie came thither an old bishop, who had a pearle in his eye, and hee brought with him to my lord a dish of apples, and a bottle of wine: for he had lost his living, because he had a wife." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1442. Bird was deprived in the beginning of the reign of Q. Mary, being a married ecclesiastic; upon which he conformed to the old religion.—Whether Fox means that there was any further mystery in these apples which he brought along with him, I am not able to say with confidence. But perhaps they might be a-kin to a very choice stock, mentioned in one of his sermons by old Latimer. "There was a patron in England

blacke Frier, called Hodgekins, who after, being under the archbishop of Canturburie, married; and afterward in Queene Maries time, put away his wife. These foure orders of Friers were sent (as is said) to bait Bilney; who notwithstanding, as he had planted himselfe upon the firme rocke of Gods word, was at a point and so continued unto the end.

But here now commeth in sir Thomas More[6] trumping in our way, with his painted card, and would needs take up this Thomas Bilney from us, and make him a convert after his sect. Thus these coated cardes, though they could not by plaine scriptures convince him being alive, yet now after his death by false play they will make him theirs

England that had a benefice fallen into his hand; and a good brother of mine came unto him and brought him thirty apples in a dish, and gave them to his man to carry them to his master. It is like he gave one to his man for his labour, to make up the game; and so there was thirty-one. This man commeth to his mayster, and presented him with the dish of apples, saying, Syr, such a man hath sent you a dish of fruite, and desireth you to be good unto him for such a benefice. Tush! tush! (quoth he) this is no apple matter. I will none of his apples. I have as good as these, or as he hath any, in mine owne orchard. The man came to the priest aganye, and tolde him what his maister said. Then quoth the priest, Desire him yet to prove one of them for my sake, he shall finde them much better than they looke for. He cut one of them: and found ten pieces of gold in it. Mary, quoth he, this is a good apple. The priest standing not fare off, hearing what the gentleman sayd, cryed out and answered, They are all one apples, I warrant you Syr; they grew all on one tree, and have all one taste. Well he is a good fellow: let him have it, quoth the patron, &c.—Get you a graft of thys tree, and I warrant you it shall stande you in better stede than all S. Paules learning." Latimer's fifth Sermon before King Edward, fol. 65. Edit. 1584.

[6] *Commeth in sir Thomas More.*] See preface to the *Confutation of Tyndales Answere.* Works, p. 349, 350. Also, p. 587.

whether

whether he will or no. This sir Thomas More in his railing preface before his booke against Tindal, doth challenge Bilney to his catholike church, and saith, that not onely at the fire, but many daies before both in words and writing, he revoked, abhorred, and detested his heresies before holden.

Be it granted that Bilney at his death, did hold with the masse, with confession, and with the authoritie of the Romish church, being an humble spirited man, and yet no further brought: yet all this notwithstanding proveth not that he recanted. For so much as he never held nor taught any thing before against the premisses, therefore he could not recant that which he never did hold.

The whole summe of his preaching and doctrine proceeded chiefely against idolatrie, invocation of Saints, vaine worship of images, false trust to mens merits, and such other grosse points of religion, as seemed prejudiciall and derogatorie to the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. As touching the Masse, and Sacrament of the altar, as he never varied from himselfe, so he never differed therein from the most grossest Catholikes. And as concerning his opinion of the church of Rome, how blind it was at that time, may sufficiently appeare by his owne answeres in time of his abjuration, written with his owne hand in Latine, which I have to shew, as followeth[7]: "Credo plærasque leges pontificias utiles esse, necessarias & ad pietatem quoque plurimum promoventes, nec sacris Scripturis repugnantes, imo ab omnibus plurimum observandas, &c. De omnibus non possum pronunciare, utpote quas non legi; & quas legi nunquam in hoc legi, ut reprehenderem, sed ut discerem intelligere, ac pro virili facere, &

[7] *As followeth.*] These are the same as are given above in English, p. 12.

docere.

docere. De multiplicitate legum questus est suo tempore S. Augustinus, & item Gersonus, qui miratur quomodo nos post lapsum, inter tot laqueos Constitutionum tuti esse possimus, quum primi parentes adhuc puri, & ante lapsum, unicum præceptum non observarint."

Moreover, concerning the authoritie of the keyes, thus he writeth, answering to his twelfth article; "Soli sacerdotes ordinati ritè per pontifices, habent claves, quarum virtute ligant & solvunt (clave non errante) quod & facere eos non dubito, quamlibet sint peccatores. Nam Sacramentorum efficaciam non minuit, nedum tollit ministrorum indignitas, quamdiu ab Ecclesia tolerantur, &c."

By these words of Bilney written by him in Latine, although it may be thought how ignorant and grosse he was after the rudenesse of those daies, yet by the same notwithstanding it may appeare, how falsely he is noted and slandered to have recanted the articles, which he did never hold or maintaine otherwise in all his life. And therefore (as I said) though it be granted that Bilney was assoiled, was confessed, and houseled before his burning, yet all this argueth not that he recanted.

Now for testimonie and witnesse of this matter, to be produced, for so much as master More alleageth none to prove that Bilney at his death did recant; I will assaye what testimonies I have on the contrarie side, to avouch and prove that Bilney did not recant.

And for so much as Bilney was a Cambridge man, and the first framer of that Universitie in the knowledge of Christ, and was burned at Norwich, being not very far distant from Cambridge; there is no doubt, but among so many friends as he had in that Universitie, some went thither to heare, and

and see him. Of whom one was Thomas Allen, fellow then of Pembroke Hall, who returning the same time from Bilneyes burning, declared to doctor Turner, Deane of Wels, being yet alive, (a man whose authoritie neither is to be neglected, nor credit to be distrusted) that the said Bilney tooke his death most patiently, and suffered most constantly, without any recantation, for the doctrine which he before had professed.

In the citie of Norwich, Necton and many other be now departed, which were then present at the burning of Bilney: neverthelesse some be yet alive, whose witnesses, if need were, I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willing) as time shall require. In the meane time, at the writing hereof, heere was one Thomas Russell, a right honest occupier, and a citizen of Norwich, who likewise being there present on horsebacke at the execution of this godly man, beholding all things that were done, did neither heare him recant any word, nor yet heard of his recantation.

I could also adde hereunto the testimonie of another, being brother to the archbishop of Canturburie, named master Baker, a man yet alive, who being the same time present at the examination of Bilney, both heard him, and saw him, when as a certaine frier called him heretike. Whereunto Bilney replying againe, made answere, If I be an heretike (saith he) then are you an Antichrist, who of late have buried a certaine gentlewoman with you in Saint Francis cowle, assuring her to have salvation thereby. Which fact, although the frier the same time did deny, yet this cannot be denied, but Bilney spake these words: whereby he may easily be judged to be far from the mind of any recantation: according as by the said Gentleman, it is also testified, that after that, he

he never heard of any recantation that Bilney either meant or made.

If I should recite al, which heere might be brought, I might sooner lacke roome in my booke to containe them, than names enow to fill up a grand Jurie. But what need I to spend time about witnesse, when one master Latimer may stand for a thousand, one martyr to beare witnes to another. And though my friend Cope, pressing me with the authoritie of M. More, saith, that he will beleeve him before me: yet I trust, he will not refuse to credit this so ancient a Senior, father Latimer, being both in Bilneyes time, and also by Bilney converted, and familiarly with him acquainted; who being the same time at Cambridge, I suppose would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter, than master More.

Touching the testimoniall of which Latimer, I have noted before, how he in three sundrie places of his sermons, hath testified *of good Bilney, of that blessed Bilney, of Saint Bilney, how he died patiently against the tyrannicall see of Rome*, &c. And in another sermon also, *how the said Bilney suffered his bodie to be burned for the Gospell sake*, &c. Item, in another place, *how the said Bilney suffered death for Gods word sake*.

I may be thought perhaps of some, to have stayed too long about the discourse of this matter. But the cause that moved, and halfe constrained me thereunto, was sir Thomas More, sometimes lord Chancellour of England, and now a great archpillar of all our English papists, a man otherwise of a pregnant wit, full of pleasant conceits, also for his learning above the common sort of his estate, esteemed industrious no lesse in his studies than well exercised in his pen. Who if he had kept himself in his owne shop, and applied the

facultie

facultie, being a lay man, whereunto he was called, and had not overreached himselfe to prove masteries in such matters, wherein he had little skil, lesse experience, and which pertained not to his profession, he had deserved, not only much more commendation, but also longer life.

But for so much as he, not contented with his owne vocation, hath with Oza reached out his unmeet hand to meddle with Gods Arke-matters, wherein he had little cunning; and while he thinketh to helpe religion, destroyeth religion, and is an utter enemie to Christ, and to his spirituall doctrine, and his poore afflicted church: to the intent therefore, that he being taken for a special ringleader, and a chief stay in the popes church, might the better be knowne what he is, and that the ignorant and simple may see what little credit is to be given unto him, as well in his other false facing out of matters, as namely in this present historie of Bilneyes recantation: I have diligently searched out and procured the true certificat of master Bilneyes burning, with all the circumstances, and points thereto belonging, testified not by somesayes and hearesayes (as master More useth) but truely witnessed, and faithfully recorded by one[8], who as in place and degree he surmounteth the estate of master More (though he were lord Chancellour) so being also both a spirituall person, and there present the same time, comming for the same purpose the day before, to see his burning, was a present beholder of things there done, αὐτόπτης καὶ μάρτυς of his martyrdome, whose

[8] *Recorded by one.*] "Dr. Parker, archbishop of Canturburie." Fox. It may be proper to observe, that after all, Collier is of opinion, that Fox fails in his disproof of the allegations of sir Thomas More, and that Bilney *did* again recant. *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II. p. 64, 65.

credit

credit I am sure will counterpease with the credit of master More. The order of which martyrdome was this, as followeth.

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before doctour Pelles, doctour of law and Chancellour, first was degraded by Suffragan Underwood, according to the custome of their popish manner, by the assistance of all the friers and doctours of the same suite. Which done, hee was immediately committed to the lay power, and to the two Sheriffes of the citie, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilneyes speciall good friend, and sorie to accept him to such execution as followed. But such was the tyrannie of that time, and dread of the Chancellour and friers, that hee could no otherwise doe, but needs must receive him. Who notwithstanding, as he could not beare in his conscience himselfe to be present at his death; so, for the time that he was in his custodie, he caused him to be more friendly looked unto, and more wholesomely kept, concerning his diet, than he was before.

After this, the Friday following at night, which was before the day of his execution, being Saint Magnus day and Saturday, the said Bilney had divers of his friends resorting unto him in the Guildhall, where hee was kept. Amongst whom one of the said friends finding him eating of an Alebrew with such a cheerefull heart and quiet mind as hee did, said, that he was glad to see him at that time, so shortly before his heavie and painfull departure, so heartily to refresh himselfe. Whereunto he answered, Oh, said he, I follow the example of the husbandmen of the countrie, who having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost as long as they may, to hold it up; and so do I now with this ruinous house of my bodie, and with

Gods

Gods creatures in thankes to him, refresh the same as yee see. Then sitting with his said friends in godlie talke, to their edification, some put him in mind, that though the fire which hee should suffer the next day, should be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of Gods Spirit should coole it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word the said Thomas Bilney putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them (as also he did divers times besides) and feeling the heat thereof, O (said he) I feel by experience, and have knowne it long by philosophie, that fire by Gods ordinance is naturally hot, but yet I am persuaded by Gods holy word, and by the experience of some spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heate, and in the fire they felt no consumption: and I constantly beleeve, that howsoever the stubble of this my bodie shall be wasted by it, yet my soule and spirit shall be purged thereby; a paine for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable. And heere he much entreated of this place of Scripture, (Esay 43.) *Feare not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name, thou art mine owne. When thou goest thorow the water, I will be with thee, and the strong flouds shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burne thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the holy one of Israel.* Which he did most comfortablie entreate of, as well in respect of himselfe, as applying it to the particular use of his friends there present, of whom some tooke such sweet fruit therein, that they caused the whole said sentence to be faire written in tables, and some in their bookes. The comfort whereof (in divers of them) was never taken from them to their dying day.

The

The Saturday next following, when the officers of execution (as the maner is) with their gleaves and halberds were readie to receive him, and to leade him to the place of execution without the citie gate, called Bishop's gate, in a low valley, commonly called the Lollards pit, under Saint Leonards hill, environed about with great hilles (which place was chosen for the peoples quiet sitting to see the execution) at the comming forth of the said Thomas Bilney out of the prison doore, one of his friends came to him, and with few words, as he durst, spake to him and prayed him in Gods behalfe, to be constant and to take his death as patiently as he could. Whereunto the said Bilney answered, with a quiet and milde countenance, Ye see when the mariner is entred his ship to saile on the troublous sea, how he for a while is tossed in the billowes of the same, but yet in hope that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he beareth in better comfort, the perils which he feeleth: So am I now toward this sayling, and whatsoever stormes I shall feele, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven; as I doubt not thereof by the grace of God, desiring you to helpe me with your prayers to the same effect.

And so he going forth in the streets, giving much almes[9] by the way, by the hands of one of his friends

[9] *Giving much almes.*] "When the time and day appointed came that hee should suffer, the shiriffes of the city, with their officers and a great number of poore simple barbers, with rustie bills and pollaxes, went to the Northgate, and there tooke out the said George Marsh, who came with them most humbly and meekely, with a locke upon his feete. And as he came upon the way towards the place of execution, some folks proffered him money, and looked that he should have gone with a little purse in his hand (as the manner of felons was

friends, and accompanied with one doctour Warner, doctour of Divinitie and parson of Winterton, whom he did chuse as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his ghostly comfort; came at the last, to the place of execution, and descended downe from the hill to the same, apparelled in a lay mans gowne with his sleeves hanging downe, and his armes out, his haire being pitiously mangled [1] at his degradation (a little single bodie in person, but alwaies of a good upright countenance) and drew neere to the stake prepared, and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, hee desired that hee might speake some words to the people, and there standing, thus he said:

was accustomed in that citie in times past, at their going to execution) to the ende *to gather money to give unto a priest to say trentals or masses for them after their death*, whereby they might, as they thought, be saved: *but Marsh said* he would not as then be troubled with medling with money, but willed some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and *to give it unto the prisoners, or poore people.* So hee went all the way unto his death, with his book in his hand, looking upon the same; and many of the people said, this man goeth not unto his death as a theife, or as one that deserveth to die." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1423. Martyrdome of George Marsh.

[1] *His haire being pitiously mangled.*] Previously to excommunication and burning, the ecclesiastics, whether secular or religious, underwent the ceremonial of degradation, the particulars of which varied according to the order and degree in the church to which the person had attained. This marring of the hair, of which we shall meet with several other instances in the progress of our history, is sufficiently illustrated by a passage in the ceremonial of the degradation of William Sawtre, A. D. 1400. "Also we have caused thy *crowne*, and ecclesiastical *tonsure* in our presence to be *rased away*, and utterlie to bee abolished, like unto the forme of a secular lay man: and heere doe put upon the head of thee the aforesaid William, the cap of a lay secular person." Fox's *Acts*, p. 476.

"Good people, I am come hither to die, and borne I was to live under that condition, naturally to die againe; and that ye might testifie that I depart out of this present life as a true Christian man in a right beleefe towards almightie God, I will rehearse unto you in a fast faith, the articles of my Creed;" and then began to rehearse them in order as they be in the common Creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to almightie God; and at the article of Christs incarnation, having a little meditation in himselfe, and comming to the word *Crucified*, he humblie bowed himselfe and made great reverence; and then proceeded in the articles, and comming to these words, *I beleeve the Catholike Church*, there he paused and spake these words, "Good people I must heere confesse to have offended the church, in preaching once against the prohibition of the same, at a poore cure belonging to Trinity hall in Cambridge, where I was fellow, earnestly entreated thereunto by the curate and other good people of the parish, shewing that they had no Sermon there of long time before: and so in my conscience moved, I did make a poore collation unto them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of certaine authoritie in the church by whom I was prohibited: howbeit I trust at the generall day, charitie that moved me to this act, shall beare me out at the judgment seat of God:" and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.

This once done, he put off his gowne, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge comming out of the stake, whereon he should afterward stand to be better seene, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eies and hands

hands to heaven, and in so good quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terrour of his death, and ended at the last, his private prayers with the 143. Psalme, beginning, *Heare my prayer O Lord, consider my desire:* and the next verse he repeated in deepe meditation thrice: *And enter not into judgement with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified:* and so finishing that Psalme he ended his privat prayers.

After that, he turned himselfe to the officers, asking them if they were readie, and they answered, Yea. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chaine was cast about him; and standing thereon, the said doctour Warner came to him to bid him farewell, which spake but few words for weeping.

Upon whom the said Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and inclined his bodie to speake to him a few words of thanks, and the last were these, O master doctor, *Pasce gregem tuum, Pasce gregem tuum, ut cum venerit Dominus, inveniat te sic facientem.* That is, *Feed your flocke, feed your flocke, that when the Lord commeth, he may find you so doing:* and farewell good master doctor, and pray for me: and so he departed without any answere, sobbing and weeping.

And while he thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certaine friers, doctors and priors of their houses being there present (as they were uncharitablie and maliciously present at his examination and degradation,) came to him and said; "O master Bilney the people be perswaded that we be the causers of your death, and that we have procured the same, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable almes from us all, except you declare your charitie towards us, and

discharge us of the matter." Whereupon the said Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people, and said; "I pray you good people be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death; it was not they:" and so he ended.

Then the officers put reed, and fagots about his bodie, and set fire on the reed, which made a very great flame, which sparkled and deformed the visour of his face, he holding up his hands and knocking upon his brest, crying sometimes *Jesus*, sometimes *Credo*. Which flame was blowne away from him by the violence of the wind, which was that day and two or three daies before notable great, in which it was said that the fields were marvellously plagued by the losse of corne: and so for a little pause, he stood without flame, the flame departing and recoursing thrice ere the wood tooke strength to be the sharper to consume him: and then he gave up the ghost, and his bodie being withered bowed downeward upon the chaine. Then one of the officers with his halberd smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his bodie to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it, and so he was consumed.

Thus have ye (good Readers) the true historie, and martyrdome of this good man.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

What was philosophy in this extraordinary man, would be frenzy in one who does not resemble him, as well in the cheerfulneſs of his temper, as in the sanctity of his life and manners.

ADDISON.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following *Life of Sir Thomas More* is now for the first time submitted to the public. It was transcribed, by permission of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, from a volume of manuscripts (No. 179) in the Lambeth Library.

It was the Editor's original intention to have contented himself with a republication of the Life of Sir Thomas, composed by his son-in-law, William Roper, a valuable and authentic piece of biography, and now not frequently to be met with. But, finding in the archiepiscopal library two lives of Sir Thomas More, neither of which had hitherto been printed, it became his duty, at least to peruse those histories, for the sake of extracting from them (under the favourable permission, so generously conceded) such parts as might seem subservient to his present design. One of these volumes, he was gratified to find, was of very considerable antiquity, being written during the reign of Q. Mary, about the same time with the account by Roper, and probably in some part of the year 1556; for the author speaks of the collection of Sir Thomas's English Works, as then preparing for publication; which in the title-page bears date A. D. 1557. In many parts this writer [1] treads closely in the footsteps of William Roper; insomuch,

[1] *This writer.*] From the words cited, this appears to be the same Life as that which is quoted by the Cambridge Antiquary, Mr. Thomas Baker, (from a copy in the library of Emanuel College in that University) in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Vol. III. p. 400. Appendix.

In

much, that if Roper's (as seems probable) was the earlier production, he must have had a copy of that work lying before him: but he has also communicated several additional particulars.

The other Life (No. 179), which was written towards the end of the reign of Q. Elizabeth, by a zealous papist, the Editor found possessed the advantage of combining together almost every thing of any value, that is to be found in the two Lives of Roper and Harpsfield, and often in the very same words; with the addition also of further materials collected from Stapleton and other sources.

On these accounts he presumes that his Readers will not regret the change which has been made in favour of the subsequent performance.

The author's name does not appear. At the end of the preface he subscribes Ro: Ba: That preface, which is long and not interesting, the Editor has taken the liberty to omit. The rest, with one exception, mentioned in the notes, is given intire.

The preface is preceded by the following commendatory epistle, written by a friend of the author.

In the course of my notes I have not hesitated to speak of it as the work of Nicholas Harpsfield; and on the following evidence. Harpsfield is mentioned as one of the biographers of Sir Thomas More, in the preface to the Life now printed. The writer, (whose name we are in quest of,) near the end of his volume, promises a special work on the Divorce between Henry VIII. and Q. Catherine. But Nicholas Harpsfield is known also to have composed a tract on that argument. (Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, p. 381.) And therefore the presumption is very strongly confirmed, that Harpsfield and the author of this Life were the same person.

TO

TO MY DEARE AND THRICE DEAR FRIEND
R. R.

Of all mortall, most beloved, and most worthie to be beloved of Mee.

THE Collector of these papers communicated to me this first copie with speciall charge to recommend them to my best, chief and choysest friend. The fairest flowre of my garland is a red rose: therefore to thee sweet Rose, by hest is this homage more than dewe. Fair is the carnation for his vermilion blush; delightsome is the pansie for his interchangeable colours. The daysie, the primrose, the hyacinth, the pyana, for varietie of hue want not theire prayse. The corsmary, sweet margeram, balme, lavender, though not so beautifull, yet sweet and odoriferous is their scent. The fume of hilicampana is very pleasing. The forme and fashion of the rose royall, french-marygold, cariophilone, munckes-hoode, and columbine is very admirable: yet many a shrub excels all these in vertue. But the aromaticall red rose, for composition and forme gives place to none; for scent and beautie to be compared with the best; but for medicinable vertue and operation, none so much in request as the red rose, distilled, preserved, conserved, pulverised, for eyes, for head, for stomache, for heart; of all hearbes and flowers the prime and soveraigne. Wherefore in this respect also this little booke, being a sweet posie of select and fragrant flowres, an epitome of celestiall vertues, springing in the paradise of delights, *the Life of Sir Thomas More;* the walks whereof are paved with camimile of humilitie; the borders are set with patience, enamiled with pinckes and violetes of rich

rich povertie; the knots are all of thyme, intermingled with germander ever the same; and here and there hysope of mortification; the rowes and hedges musk roses and rosemary of sweet conversation; the vacant plots are spangled with flowres, the golden marygold of obedience, hearts-ease of a settled conscience, flowers of Jerusalem of his desire to be in heaven; white lilies, puritie of his intentions; red roses, the glorie of his death.

So, most faire and comfortable of all flowers, I nothinge doubt the acceptance of this jewell. Symbolizing natures are easily combined. A saincts life is a welcome theame to a saincтlike man. Make happie thy good beginnings; knit up the end like the rest; so shalt thou everlastingly live in blisse. And for the obtayninge thereof I will not faile to pray. Farewell. Marche the 25. 1599.

Thine, *os, cor et manus,*

B. R.

SIR

SIR THOMAS MORE.

BOOK FIRST.

1. THOMAS More was borne in London[a], the principall Citie of this noble realme of England, of a verie worshipful familie. His fathers name was John More, a man pleasant and wittie in his conceits. Verie cunning and expert he was in the lawes of the realme. For his worthiness and well-deserving parts he was advanced to be one of the Judges of the Kings Bench, and to the worshipful degree of knighthoode.

His mothers name is unknowne. Brothers he had none. Sisters two: Joane married to Richard Stafferton, an ancient gentleman in his countrie; and Elizabeth wife to John Rastall of equal calling.

His mother, the first night after her marriage, sawe in her sleepe the number of children she should have, written as it were in her marriage ring; and the formes, shapes, and countenances of them all. One was very dim and obscure, and could skarcelie be discerned; for of one she suffered by an untimelie byrth an aborsement. Another she saw full bright and beautiful, and fairer than all

[a] *Borne in London.*] A. D. 1480. See *Life of Sir Thomas More, by his Great Grandson, Thomas More, Esq.* p. 6. edit. 1726.

the

the rest; whereby no doubt was this lampe of England prefigured.

One tyme as his nourse (and this is much to be noted) ridd over a water, having this young babe in her armes, she was by reason of the stumbling of her horse, in daunger of drowning. And that she might the better save her selfe and her child, on a sudden (she) did cast the child from her over the hedge. She after coming to the place with great feare, found the child without bruse or hurt, smiling and laughing on her. This, no question, was no obscure presage[3] of his future holiness.

2. The childe encreasing in age, his father, for his great care and wisdome, provided him a maister, one Nicholas Holt, a learned and discreet man, in

[3] *No obscure presage.*] This is modest enough, and yet neither Roper nor Harpsfield tells us any thing of this story. But Fanaticism is not wont to stop at these low flights.

It may be worth the reader's remarking, that by means of the successive lives which have been written of Sir Thomas More, we possess a curious specimen of the aversion which Popery has against reforming itself; or rather of its propensity to accumulate falshoods and forgeries, even amid surrounding reformation and refinement. Sir Thomas More is deservedly a favourite character with Romish biographers. Yet in Roper and Harpsfield, his earliest historians, there is scarcely any thing fanatical. Stapleton, who wrote (A. D. 1588), about thirty years afterwards, and at a distance from the scene of action, being in exile at Douay, has detailed several miraculous stories: but Mr. More, Sir Thomas's great-grandson, whose Life of his ancestor came out in the year 1627, goes much further. We shall content ourselves with citing one very short specimen.

"It was also credibly reported, that two of John Haywood's sons, Jasper and Ellis, having one of the teeth of Sir Thomas More betweene them, and either of them being desirous to have it to himselfe, it suddenly, to the admiration of both, parted in two." More's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 304. See also p. 276, &c. May not we easily believe that, but for the iniquity of the times, in another generation Sir Thomas More would have been canonized?

St.

St. Anthonies schoole in London. There he learned the principles of the Latyn tongue; where in short tyme he farr exceeded all his equals. His father, seeing his towardness, provided that for his better education, he should be brought up in the house of the wise and learned prelate Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterburie; who being a man of deep judgment sone espied his pregnant and quicke wit. On a Christmas tyme, Thomas, being verie young, upon a sudden amongst the players, without any fore-thinking on the matter, he would play a part with them; and with a verie good grace and liking. For he did it so fitly and so pleasantly, that all the auditours had more pleasure and admiration at him, than all the rest. But especiallie the Cardinal, who afterwardes would often tell the nobles sitting at table with him, where young Thomas waited on him, "Whosoever liveth to trie it, shall see this childe prove a notable and rare man." So the Bishop, having conceaved such expectation, was verie careful to have him aunswerable unto it; that this goodly bud might grow to a faire flowre, and in tyme burgion forth his expected fruit.

So he caused this youth to be sent to Oxforde; where for the short tyme of his abode (being not there fullie two years) he wonderfullie profited in the knowledge of Latyn and Greeke tongues, and noe little in the knowledge of Phylosophie. His maister in the Greek was Thomas Linacre of great fame and experience. In the tyme of his abode there his father so used the matter, to the end he should onelie follow his learning and studie, that he allowed him but onelie necessaries; no not a pennie he would give him to spend in waste or pastimes. So shortened of money, the fit and forceable instrument to effect everie evell, he was rid of manye occasions

occasions that hinder good proceedings. This frugalitie of his father he afterwards often remembered and commended.

3. The father minding that the sonne should tread after his steppes, called young Thomas from the Universitie, and caused him to settle his minde whollie upon the studie of the lawes of this realme. Which studie he commenced first at New Inne, one of the Inns of Chauncerie. After, he was admitted to Lyncolnes Inne, where he made such encrease of his cunning, that in little tyme he attaigned to that degree, which his elders in manie yeares studie could not atchieve, to be an utter barrister.—Now is the common-lawe of this realme so intricate, various and obscure, as it would requier a whole and entire man, all his life tyme, or most part thereof, to come to anye excellencie therein. After this, by the whole bench of Lyncolnes Inne it was thought meet to make him reader in Furnivals Inn, wherein he spent three yeares and more to great profit of divers. But though his profit herein was both substantial and speedie, yet continuallie he allotted himselfe tyme to followe his studies commenced in Oxforde.

He red openly[4] in St. Laurence churche in London, St. Austins booke *De civitate Dei*, and that performed

[4] *He red openly.*] "About this time it was almost come to a custom for men of distinguished parts and learning in that University" (Oxford) "to set up voluntary lectures, by way of exposition or comment on some celebrated writer; to which the students would repair more or less, according to the opinion they had of the men, and their performances. Amongst others, we are certain Mr. Thomas More did read upon St. Austin's book, *De Civitate Dei*, while a very young man, to a great auditory; the seniors and grave divines not being ashamed to learn divinity from so young a layman." Knight's *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 50. We have already seen mention made of the

performed so profoundly and exactlie, that all that heard him gave him singular commendations. His lesson was much frequented, and honored with the presence of the chiefe and best learned in the citie. Master Grocine, a man of great learning, would often come to hear him. This Grocine read at the same tyme the bookes of Dionysius Areopagita, but with a lesse auditorie than master More had. More in his reading proved himselfe a divine, a philosopher, an historian: for *he* must be furnished with these arts, that will read and expound these bookes of St. Austines, as he did.

He was seene in geometrie, arithmitique, musick, and spake French well: the knowledge whereof, though he were in France some tyme, according to a laudable custome of our countrie, especiallie in the better sort, to send their children thither to learne the language and guise of that countrie, yet the most he got was by his own industrie here in England. In poetrie he had a good grace. In his verse, whether it were English or Latyn, he shewed as much pietie and devotion, as witte and art. His epigrams were so well liked of amongst learned men, as Beatus Rhenanus and Leodegarius a Quercu preferred him before all the poets of that time. His felicitie in prose was much greater, yea even at this tyme, thoughe he

the Lecture read in St. Paul's Church, London, by William Grocine, upon the Books of Dionysius Areopagita, *De Hierarchia Ecclesiastica*. See Vol. I. Supplementary Extracts. Indeed, says Dr. Knight, "it is plain that the Public Lecturers, both in the Universities, and the Cathedral Churches, took the liberty of reading upon any book, rather than the holy Scriptures, till Dr. Colet reformed that practice, and both in Oxford, and in St. Paul's, brought in the more useful way of reading and expounding St. Paul's Epistles, or some other parts of Scripture." Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 67.

were

were young, and much occupied and distracted with other studies.

4. You have hearde of his learning, and of what expectation his beginnings were. If haplie virtue paced not equallie with these studies and rare knowledge, it might happe all these good parts to be drowned. For knowledge without virtue is as a ring in a swines nose; or as a good dish of meat of a sluts cooking. Of such knowledge St. Paule telleth us the effect, *scientia inflat*, knowledge doth puffe up, that is, makes us proud, disdainful, and ministereth occasions of many synnes. But *his* age and virtue equallie encreased.

In his youth or tender years he used to weare a cilice or hair-shirt, and lay many nights on the ground, often on a borde; or else he used a blocke under his head. His sleepe was very short, seldom or never above foure or five houres. He had great delight to heare Gods word preached; and for that, exceedingly loved Doctor Collet, Deane of Paules, who was a very spirituall and devoute man in his speache and sermons. He made and translated many spirituall works in this age; as the Life of John Picus, Earle of Mirandula; his Epistles, and the Twelve Rules of a good life of the same Earles. He made a very devoute booke intituled *De quatuor novissimis*, wherein he describeth vice and virtue even to the quick: but this work was never finished.

It seemed probable by some apparent conjectures that he had a mind to be a priest, or to have accepted the habit of some religion. For he continued, after his reading above-said, some foure yeares or more very orderly in great devotion and prayer in the Charter House in London amongst the Monks, but without any manner of vow or

profession. Some perhaps will say, seeing the *contemplative* life farre exceeds the *active*, according to that of our Saviours saying, *optimam partem elegit Maria, quæ non auferatur ab eâ*, Marie hath chosen the best parte, which shall not be taken away from her; why did not he followe that inclination or inspiration to be religious? Perhaps the tymes fitted not in England to have Cloysterers aunswerable to their rules, so that at that tyme they were much debased from their former sanctitie, which soone after appeared by their waste, and havocke made of those places: or else God peculiarlie chose this man in another kinde of life, therein to serve him more for the glorie of his holy name, the Churches benefit, and his own soules good. And as God appointed that worthy man John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, to be the champion of the Clergie, so he reserved Thomas More in the degree of the Laitie, to be the proto-martyr of England that suffered for the defence of the union of the Catholicke Church.

5. About this tyme he was chosen a Burgesse of the Parliament, in the later dayes of King Henry the seventh. He was then of the age of six or seven and twentie[5]. At this parliament there was concluded a marriage betweene James the fourth, king of Scots, and Ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to our said king; and because great charges would thereby growe to the king, he demaunded of the parliament about three fifteens. Now considering it was an ancient custom at all tymes, for such and the like causes more than ordinarie, to

[5] *Six or seven and twentie.*] At the time of the death of Henry VII. More was about eight and twenty years old. But in the year 1502, when the marriage took place between the Princess Margaret and James the Scotish King, his age could not be more than two and twenty.

presse the Commons; but especiallie seeing this contract seemed to importe verie much the good and quiet of this realme, it was thought there would be noe resistance made to theire demaund. Howbeit Thomas More misliked the matter; and of that his so doinge gave openlie such and so good arguments, that they of the Lower House were all of his minde, and thereby the bill was quite overthrowne. Forthwith Mr. Tyler, one of the Privie Chamber, that was there present, resorted to the king declaring that a beardlesse boy, called More, had done more harme than all the rest, for by his meanes all the purpose is dasht.

The remembrance of this displeasure sunk deeplie into the kings heart, and bred great indignation against Master More, readie upon anie occasion to burst out against him. But yet the king forbare, least he might seeme to infringe the ancient libertie of that place, which would have bin odiously taken, or haply because Master More had then little to lose. Yet was there a causelesse quarrel devised against his father, whereby he was committed to the Towre; from whence he could not get discharged, without paying a fine of a hundred pounds. Neither yet was the sonne forgotten, but privie wayes were sought to entrap him, whereby the King upon some better colour might fasten his displeasure upon him. This well knew Master More, and ever after lived in feare of the Kings indignation; and supposing his abode here in England would be to his further daunger, resolved to live beyond the seas. But the Kings death not long after ensuing, prevented that designement.

6. All this while Thomas More was unmarried, and seemed to have liked well to have led a single life. But in conclusion he fell to marrying, and tooke to wife the daughter of one Mr. Colt, a gentleman

tleman of Essex, who had three daughters very virtuous and well-liking. And albeit his mind served him most to settle his affection on the second sister, for that he thought her fairest and best favoured, yet when he considered it would be a grief to the eldest to see her youngest sister preferred before her, he then, of a certaine pitie, framed his fancie towards the eldest. Yet he discontinued not his studies in the Lawe, but still applied the same untill he was called to the benche; and he red there twice in Lincolnes Inne, which is as often as ordinarilie any Judge doth.

After his marriage he placed himself in Bucklersburie, where he had by his wife three daughters and one sonne, whose name was called John More, after the Grandfather's name. The daughters were thus disposed of: Margaret after married to Mr. William Roper; Cicilie married to Mr. Giles Heron; Elizabeth was wife to William Daunsey: which children he brought up in virtue, and knowledge both of the Greeke and Latyn tongue. He would often say to his children, "virtue and learning must be their meate, play but as it were the sauce." Of his care in this point we shall hereafter, as occasion serveth, speak more at large.

7. Whilst he would plead anie mans cause, this was his custome: to give such faithful and good counsaile that the client might soone perceive he sought not his owne private commoditie. First he would persuade them to make up the matter, and agree amongst themselves. If so be they would not, then he shewed them which way with least charge and trouble they might wage law. And never he tooke cause in hand, that he did not seriouslie and advisedlie examine the justice and equitie thereof. And if he found it to halt therein,

he would tell his client he would not meddle[6] in that matter, for all the good in the world.

Now, for his good skill and sinceritie, the Citie wherein he first breathed gave him his first office. For he was made Under-Sheriffe of London, when he was not above twenty-eight yeares of age; which office as it is very worshipful, so it is not verie combersome. In this place he dispatched more matters than ever did any before. No man ever used himselfe more sincere and upright than he, and lesse exacting; for often he forgave his owne

[6] *He would not meddle.*] "We talked of the practice of the law. Sir William Forbes said, he thought an honest Lawyer should never undertake a cause which he was satisfied was not a just one." "Sir, (said Mr. Johnson), a Lawyer has no business with the justice or injustice of the cause which he undertakes, unless his client asks his opinion, and then he is bound to give it honestly. The justice or injustice of the cause is to be decided by the judge. Consider Sir; what is the purpose of courts of justice? It is that every man may have his cause fairly tried, by men appointed to try causes. A Lawyer is not to tell what he knows to be a lie. He is not to produce what he knows to be a false deed; but he is not to usurp the province of the jury and of judge, and determine what shall be the effect of the evidence;—what shall be the result of legal argument. As it rarely happens that a man is fit to plead his own cause, lawyers are a class of the community, who, by study and experience, have acquired the art, and power of arranging evidence, and of applying to the points at issue what the law has settled. A Lawyer is to do for his client all that his client might fairly do for himself, if he could. If by a superiority of attention, of knowledge, of skill, and a better method of communication, he has the advantage of his adversary, it is an advantage to which he is entitled. There must always be some advantage, on one side or other; and it is better advantage should be had by talents than by chance. If Lawyers were to undertake no causes till they were sure they were just, a man might be precluded altogether from a trial of his claim, though were it judicially examined, it might be found a very just claim." Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, p. 14.

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fee. Yet by this office, and learned counsaile, (for there was not any matter of weight or importance in any of the Prince's Courts, that he was not retained for counsaile on the one partie or the other) without grudge of conscience, or injurie to anie man, he gained above four hundred pounds yearlie.

The Citie dearlie loved him, and for his wit, learning and experience had him in great esteem; in so much that the English merchants, and the Strangers of the Stilyarde, sent him twice as ambassador beyond the seas, althoughe he neither desyred nor liked to be imployed in such offices: for he was wont to say, "he liked not to be banished from his owne countrie, and shut up in a towne, where perhaps neyther the land nor the ayre be very good and wholsome." But especially he misliked these ambassages, as subject to contentions and altercations, which of his owne nature he did much abhorre, but especially in a strange countrie with great princes; and where he suffered no little damages. For though he were worshipfully provided for, for the defraying of his charges, yet he suffered by his absence far greater losses. And therefore he would merrilie say, "that there was great difference betwixt a lay-man and a priest to be sent in ambassage; for a priest need not to be disquieted for wife, children and familie: for the first two they lacke, the other they may take all with them. And though I am not an evil husband, father, or maister, yet I cannot so fashion my houshold that my absence shall as well instruct, please, and provide for them as my presence." Yet he many tymes was sent in most honorable embassages by the king his maister. Twice he was joined in commission with Cardinal Wolsey; when he went into Flanders to Charles the fifth, and an other tyme in France. He was ambassador when the

the famous peace betweene Charles the Emperor, Ferdinando King of the Romaines, and Francis the first of France, anno 1529, was made. Yet these paines he most misliked: but being once put upon him, he fore-stood nothing for the happie expedition of the same. And so he demeaned him selfe for the Merchants, that at his returne he purchased to him selfe great credit and estimation, both with them and the King; who at his home cominge offered him for recompence an annual pension duryng his life, which though it were both honorable and commodious, yet he refused it, lest the Citizens might conceive some sinister suspition, that when any controversie should happen concerning their privileges, betweene the King and them, (as often it happeneth), that he would not have been him selfe upright, being as it were feed and hired with the pension.

8. Moreover this King Henry was in hand with Cardinal Wolsey to procure him unto his service. The Cardinal did not slacke the matter, but dealt with him incontinently, and in very earnest manner, to serve the King; saying it was meet and convenient, and it could not be but for his advancement to do so. Yet he was very loath to change his estate, and so wrought the Cardinal by his faire speeche, that by him the king was satisfied for that tyme. But his estimation and fame every day so encreased, that after a while the King would by no manner of entreatie be induced to forbeare his service. And this was upon this occasion.

There chanced a great ship of burden of the Popes to arrive at Southampton, the which ship upon some title the King claimed as a forfeiture. The Popes Ambassador then resident in the realme, upon suit got a graunte of the King, to retaine for his Maister some learned in the lawes and customes

of

of the realme; and that the matter might be openlie heard and debated in his owne presence. Amongst all the lawyers choice was made of Mr. More, as one esteemed not partial, and verie skilful in theise affaires. He in the presence of the Lordes of the Council, in the Starr Chamber, where the matter was heard, so learnedlie and substantiallie argued in the defence of his cause, that he wonne to the Pope his ship, to him selfe great renoune and prayse in the mouthe of everie one.

Upon this the King entertained him for him selfe, and gave him this notable and worthie lesson, "that in all his doings and affaires touching the King, he should first respect God, then the King his maister." This lesson he willinglie heard, and most effectuallie performed. At this first entrance into the Kings service, he was made Master of the Requests, and within a month after Knight, and one of the Kings Privie Council. And in a short tyme, after the death of Mr. William Weston, Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer. And upon the death of Sir Richard Wingfield he was Chauncellor of the Dutchie: and after the death of the Lord Cardinal[7], Highe Chauncellour of England, the first lay-man that ever possessed that place in King Henry the eighths tyme.

9. It may seem strange, that Mr. More should be thus advanced, for he alwaies shewed himselfe to have more respect to weal publique, than to the Kings gaine or pleasure. But it followeth, that either the King was at this tyme a marvelous good prince, or that he had not that experience of his upright and plaine dealing: and this can I hardly believe. For he could not but know, how in his

[7] *After the death of the Lord Cardinal.*] More correctly, "after the *disgrace* of the Lord Cardinal."

father's

father's tyme, in a parliament, whereof we spake before, he had demened himselfe in hindering the bill of three fifteenths that it passed not. But especialle, that which I shall now declare unto you, he could not but remember.

In the fourteenth yeare of his Majeſties reigne, a Parliament was summoned, where the Commons chused Mr. More for theire Speaker, and presented him in the Parliament House; where he disabled himselfe [8], as a man unmeet for that office. Among other things he brought forth a storie of the noble Hannibal, "to whome at a certaine tyme, Phormio made a solemne declaration concerning chivalrie and the feates of warre, which was liked by many. But Hannibal, being demanded what he thought thereof, answered, 'I never heard a more proud arrogant foole, that durst take upon him to instruct the flower and maister of chivalrie in his owne profession.' So, (quoth Sir Thomas), I may well looke for the same rebuke at the King's hands, if I should arrogate so much as to speake before him of the weelding and governinge publique affaires; seeing that he is so wise, learned, and expert in matters of his estate. Wherefore my humble petition is, that the Commons may freely chuse some other for their Speaker." But the Cardinal answered, "that the King had sufficient proofe of his every way sufficientie, and that the Commons could not chuse a meeter man." In the end, when the King would not consent to the election of any other, he spake to his Grace in form following.

[8] *Disabled himselfe.*] "The Commons chose for their Speaker Sir Thomas More... He *according to the usage, disabled* himselfe, both in wit, learning, and discretion, to speak before the King." Stowe's *Annals*, p. 519. edit. 1615.

"Sith

"Sith I perceive, my renowned Soveraigne, that it standeth not with your Highness' pleasure, to reforme this election, but have by the mouth of the most reverend father in God, the Legate, your High Chauncellor, given your most royall consent, and have of your benignitie determined farre above that I may beare, to enable and repute me meete; rather than you would seeme to impute unto your Commons any note of indiscretion for their unfit choice; I am therefore, and shall be alwaies readie obedientlie to conforme myself to the accomplishment of your soveraigne command; in most humble manner beseeching your most noble Majestie, that I may, with your Grace's favour, before I enter further thereunto, make my humble intercession unto your Highness for two lowlie petitions; the one privatelie concerning myselfe, the other for the whole assemblie of the Commons House. For myself, gratious Soveraigne, that if it mishappen me, in any thing hereafter on the behalfe of your Commons in your Highness' presence to be declared, to mistake my message, and for lacke of good utterance, and mis-rehearsal to pervert and impaire theire prudent instructions, it may then like your noble Majestie, of your aboundant grace, with the eye of your accustomed pittie to pardon my simpleness, giving me leave to repaire againe to the Commons House, and there to confer with them, and to take theire substantial advice, what things, and in what wise I am to utter; to the intent their prudent devices and affaires be not by my simpleness and follie hindered and impaired: which thing if it should mis-happe (as it were well liekelie) if your gratious benignitie releved not my oversight, it would be, during my life, a perpetual grudge and heaviness to my heart. The help and remedie, in manner afore remembered,

bered, is, most gratious Soveraigne, my first lowlie suit and humble petition to your noble grace.

"My other humble request, most excellent Prince, is this. That, for as much as there be of your Commons, here by your Highness' commandment assembled, a great number which are, after accustomed manner, appointed to treat and devise of the common affaires amongst themselves apart: and albeit, most deare and liege Lord, that according to your prudent devise, by your honorable writs every where delared, there hath been as due diligence used, in sending up to your Highness' Court of Parliament, the most discrete persons, out of everie quarter, that men could esteeme fit; whereby it is not to be doubted, but that there be here present a verie substantial assemblie of right wise and politique persons, yet, most victorious Prince, sith amongst so manie wise men, neither is everie man wise alike, nor amonge so so manie all alike well witted, is everie man alike well spoken; and it often happeneth, that likewise as much follie is uttered with painted and polished speeches, so many men, boysterous and rude in language, yet give right good and substantial counsaile: sith also, in matters of great importance, the minde is often so occupied in the matter, that a man rather studieth *what*, than *how* to say, by reason whereof the wisest man and best spoken in a whole countrie fortuneth sometimes, while his mind is fervent in the matter, somewhat to speake in such wise as he would after wish to have been uttered otherwise, yet his meaning no worse when he spoke it, than when he would so gladlie change it: Therefore, most gratious Soveraigne, considering that in your Highness' Court of Parliament, there is nothing uttered but matters of weight and importance, concerning the realme and royal estate,

it

it could not faile but to let and put to sylence from giving their advice and counsaile manie of the discreet Commoners, to the great hinderance of publique affaires, except everie man there were utterly discharged of all doubt and feare, how anie thing that should happen them to speake, should happen of your Highness to be taken: and in this point, though your well known and approved benignitie putteth everie man in right good hope, yet such is the weight of the matter, such the reverend dreade, that the timerous hearts of your natural subjects conceive towards your Highness' Majesty, most renowned Soveraigne, that they cannot in this pointe find themselves satisfied, except your gracious bountie herein declared, may put away the scruple of their timerous mindes.

"May it therefore like your aboundant Grace, our most benigne King, to give to all your Commons here assembled, your most gratious licence and pardon, freely without all doubt of your dreadful displeasure, everie man to discharge his conscience, and boldly in any thing incident amongst us to declare his advice; and whatsoever happen any man to say, that it may like your noble Majestie, of your inestimable goodness, to take all in good parte, interpreting every man's words, how uncomely so ever they be couched, to proceed yet of good zeale towards the profit of your realme, and the honour of your royal person; the prosperous estate and preservation whereof, most excellent Soveraigne, is the thing which we all, your most humble loving subjects, according to our bounden dutie, of natural alleageance, most highlie desyre and pray for. *Dixi.*"

At this Parliament Cardinal Wolsey found himselfe much agrieved with the burgesses thereof, that there was nothing said or done therein but that

that it was immediately blowne abrode in every ale-house: it fortuned at that Parliament a great subsidie to be demaunded, which the Cardinal, fe ing would not passe the Commons House, determined for the furtherance thereof to be there personally himselfe: before whose coming they themselves much debated, whether it weere better to receive him with a few of his Lords, or with all his traine. Most were of opinion the first were the best. At last Mr. More said in this manner. "Maisters, for as much as my Lord Cardinal lately, you wote well, laid to our charge the lightness of our tongues, for things uttered out of this house, it shall not be amisse, in my minde, to receive him with all his pompe, with all his maces, his pillars, his poll-axes, his crosses, his hatt, and the great seale too; to the intent, that if he finde the like fault hereafter with us, we may be the bolder, from ourselves, to lay the blame upon them whom he bringeth with him." Whereunto the whole House agreeing, he was received accordingly. Where, after he had, in a solemn oration, by many reasons proved, how necessarie it was the demaund to be granted; and further shewing that lesse would not serve to maintaine the Prince's purpose, he seeing the companie sit still silent; and aunswering nothing, contrarie to his expectation shewed themselves not verie forward to incline to his request, said unto them, "Maisters, you have many wise and learned men among you; and sith I am from the King's own person sent hither unto you, for the preservation of yourselves and all the realme, I thinke it mete you give me some reasonable answere." Where everie man holding his peace, then began he to speake to one Mr. Marnee; who making no answere, he severallie asked the same question of divers others, accounted

accounted the wisest amongst them; to whom when none of them all woulde yeeld so much as one word, being before agreed as the custom was, by theire Speaker to make answere, "Maisters," quoth the Cardinal, "unlesse it be the manner of your House, as of likelihoode it is, by the mouthe of the Speaker, whom you have chosen for trustie and wise, as indeed he is, in suche causes to utter your mindes, here is, without doubt, a marvelous obdurate silence;" and thereupon required aunswere of Mr. Speaker. Who first reverently upon his knees "excused the silence of the House, abashed with the presence of so noble a personage, able to amaze the wisest and best learned in the realme; and after many probable arguments, that for them to make aunswere was neither expedient, nor agreeable to the auncient libertie of the House; in conclusion, for himselfe he shewed, that althoughe they had all with' theire voices trusted him, yet except every one of them would put into his head all their several witts, he alone was unmeet, in so weightie a matter, to make his Grace aunswere." Whereupon the Cardinal displeased, sodenlie arose and departed.

This the Cardinal forgot not; for the next daie sending for him, in his Gallerie of White-Hall, at Westminster, he uttered unto him what he conceived. "Would to God," quoth the Cardinal, "you had been at Rome, Master More, when I made you Speaker." "Your Grace not offended, so would I my Lord" (quoth he): "for then should I have seene those holie places, that I have often and much desired." And after some walkes in silence, to winde such matters out of the Cardinal's head, he began to talke of the Gallerie, and saide, "I like this Gallerie of yours, my Lord, much better than that of Hampton Court." So, wisely

wisely he brake off the Cardinal's unpleasante talke; so that the Cardinal, as it seemed, wist not what to say to him, but flung from him without anie more speaking; and for revengement of his displeasure, counselled the King to send him ambassador into Spaine, that there he might either die, or not retorne againe in haste. But that jorney tooke not effect, through his owne entreatie, and sweet demeanoure to the King.

The truth is, the Cardinal never loved him; yea rather feared him, least in tyme the fame of his wit, learning, and virtue should blemish and dimme the glorie of his owne prayses. For the Cardinal, thoughe he were adorned with manie good qualities, yet he was of an exceeding ambitious humor and aspiring nature; and so in love with his well-doing, that he fell into a certaine phrensie of over-weening of him selfe.

All these things considered, that the Cardinal never trulie loved him, nor the King could conceave anie great hope that he would be corrupted to speake against good and equitie, I say it was not a little strange to see Mr. More thus advanced. But the providence of Almightie God so appointed that so great a light should not be put under a bushel, but reared on the hills of worldlie felicitie, to shine unto them who wilfully have extinguished their owne lampes and eyes, and yet possesse the same rooms, but with far different conditions.

10. Thomas More, being in the King's service, never was there any one man that the King used more familiarly. The King, upon Holy Dayes, when he had done his devotions, did often send for him unto his traverse, and there sometyme of matters of Astronomie, Geometrie, Divinitie, sometymes in matters of State, to sit and confer with him. And other whiles he would in the night have him

him up to his leads, there to discourse with him the diversities, courses, motions, and operations of the stars and planets. Both the King and the Queene tooke great comforte and pleasure in his merrie and pleasant conceited witt. They would verie often call for him, in the tyme of their supper, to be merrie, and recreate themselves withal. Whome when Sir Thomas perceived his talke so much to delight, that he could skarce in a moneth get leave to goe home to his wife and children[9], or to be absent two dayes togeather from the Court, but that he was sent for againe, he much mislyked this restrainte of his libertye, and beganne thereupon somewhat to dissemble his nature, and by little and little to disuse himselfe from his accustomed myrth, so that he was not from thenceforth so ordinarilie sent for.

Yet the King took such pleasure in his companie, that he would oftentymes on a suddaine come to his house at Chelsey, to talke and be merrie with him. Whither on a tyme unlooked for, while Sir Thomas was Chancellour of the Duchie he came to dynner to him; and after dinner in a faire garden walked with him by the space of an howre, holding his arme about his neck: of all which favours he made no other account, than a deepe wise man should doe, and as the nature and disposition of the King, which he well perceived, did require. Wherefore even at this tyme, when flattering fortune seemed most to smile upon him, and all things seemed as faire as faire might be, or he could wish, he well consy-

9 *To his wife and children.*] "Thus he represents to his friend Peter Gyles the manner of his treating them: Nempe reverso domum, cum uxore fabulandum est, garriendum cum liberis." Roper's Life, p. 33.

dered the brittle estate of men that be in the highest favour of princes. Wherefore, when after the King's departure, his sonne in law, Mr. William Roper, verie glad to have seene this, came to him saying, "Sir, how happie are you, whome the King hath so familiarly entertained, as I never sawe him to doe the like to any, except to the Lord Cardinall, with whome I saw his Grace once walke arme in arme!" Sir Thomas aunswered in this sorte: "I thanke God, Sonne William, I find his Grace my very good Lord and Maister; and I doe believe he doth as singularlie favoure me as he doth any subject within this realme. Howbeit Sonne Roper, as I shall tell thee, I have noe cause to be proude of it; for if my head would wynne him a castle in France, it should not faile to flie from my shoulders, as fast now as it seemeth to sticke."

Thus Sir Thomas spent twenty yeares or more in the King's service, with as great countenance and well liking of his Grace as ever did any; yet in the end he was but evil recompenced, as hereafter it shall appeare.

BOOK THE SECOND.

1. AS we have spoken of his offices, and carriage in publique affaires, and for his countrie, so now it is meet to recount his secret and domestical life with his wife, children, frendes, and others.

First,

First, in Sir Thomas is principallie to be considered, as the roote and heade of all his doings, that alwayes he had a special care and regard to God-ward, and to keepe his conscience syncere and upright.

It was his cuſtome to rise every daie verie earlie; and on his knees, after he had commended himself to God, he said his Mattins, the Seven Psalmes[1], the Litanie with the Suffrages, often the Dirige, and the Graduall Psalmes, and certaine other devout prayers, both in Latyn and Englishe, of his owne making. Besides, he selected certaine Psalmes out of the Psalter, and made himselfe a prettie little volume; and to reade all, or most parte thereof, everie morning, he seldome omitted. After all this, every day, feast and ferie, he heard masse with reverence and devotion; and before the end, for to receive the benediction of the priest, he would in noe case departe, though the King had sent for him, once, twice, and thrice. He was wont to say he would come to the King presentlie, "after I have done my dutie and devoire both to his and my maister, the King of Kings."

He was very desirous to be solitary and sequester himselfe from worldly companie, the better to recollect himselfe to God. And therefore to satisfie the better this his good purpose, he builded at Chelsey, a good distance from his mansion-house, a place which was called the New building, wherein was a Chapel, a Librarie, and a Gallerie; in which,

[1] *The seven Psalmes.*] These psalms, otherwise called the seven *penitential* psalms, are inserted in all Primers, and were often commented upon by ancient devotional writers. They are 6th, 31st, 37th, 50th, 101st, 129th, and 141st. The Dirige also constitutes a part of the Primer. Of the fifteen Gradual Psalms, see Durandi *Rationale*, Lib. v. Cap. 2. numb. 39.

as his use was upon other daies to occupie him in prayer and studie, so on the Fridaies there usuallie he continued from morne till night, and oftentimes all night, spending his tyme in devoute prayers and spiritual exercises. He used often to punish his body with discipline[2], especiallie every Fridaie, great Saincts eves, and at the fower tymes of Ember weeke, with whipps made of knotted cords. He used to weare a Cilice, yea often when he sate as High Chancellour in judgment seat. But because he would not be noted of singularitie, he conformed himselfe outwardlie to other men of the same state and vocation. This no person did know but his daughter Margaret, whome he best trusted; causing her sometymes, as need required, to wash his shirt of haire. Once it chanced as he sate at supper in the summer tyme, single in his doublet and hose, wearing upon the same shirt of haire, a plaine linen shirt, without ruff or collar, that his sonne Johns wife spied the same, and beganne to smile at it. His daughter Margaret, marking the matter, presentlie told her father of it. He, being sorrie that it was seene, straight amended it, but spake not a word thereof.

[2] *To punish his body with discipline.*] "Then shalt thou understond, that bodily pain *(penance)* stont in *discipline*, or teaching by word or writing, or by ensample. Also in *wearing of heer* or stamin, or of habergeons on her naked flesh for Christes sake; and that such manor penaunces ne make not thine heart bitter or angrie, ne annoyed of thy selfe; for better is to cast away thine heer, than to cast away the sweetnesse of Jesus Christ.——Then is *discipline* also, in knocking of thy breast, *in scourging with roddes*, in kneeling, in tribulation, suffring patiently wrongs that been doen to thee; and also in patient suffring of sicknesse, or lesing of worldly goodes, or cattel, or wife, child, or other frendes." Chaucer's *Parsones Tale*, p. 197. edit. 1687.

In

In his parish church at Chelsey he builded a faire Chapel, and endowed it with many rich ornaments; and to the church where he dwelt he gave copes, chalices, images, &c. And he would often say, "let good folkes give apace, for there will be found too many that will take away as fast." So much he loved the beautie and glorie of the house of God, that if he had seene a faire and comelie man of personage, he would say, "it is pittie yonder man is not a priest, he would become an aultar well." The like he would say of jewels and precious stones; and in his *Aunswere to the Supplication of Beggars* he exhortes gentlemen and ladies to give to the Church their rings, bracelets, borders, and the like; "for by keeping them, quoth he, they but minister matter for vanitie, and so for punishment; in giving them, procure merit and spiritual benediction."

And, the more to doe honour to God's service, he used, yea when he was Lord Chancellour, to sit and sing in the quire with a surplice on his backe. And once it happened, that the Duke of Norfolk, coming to Chelsey to dyne with him, found him in that manner. After service going home with him, arme in arme, he said after this fashion, "Gods bodie, Gods bodie, Lord Chancellour, a parish clarke, a parish clarke[8]; you dishonour the King

[8] *A parish clarke.*] "So we rede of Kynge Roberte of Fraunce, that was a connyng man, and so devout toward Goddes Sarvice, that he wolde be in eche feaste in some Monastery for Divine Servyce. And not only he wolde *synge* with the monkes, but also he wolde *do on a cope*, and stande and synge as a Chantoure in myddes of the Quier. Whereof it hapned on a tyme whan he beseged a Castel that was rebel agenst him, and the feast of Saynt Anyan fell to be the same tyme at Orleaunce; he lefte his hoste at sege, and went thyder, and toke a cope, and songe in the middes of the Quier, as he

King and his office." "Nay," quoth Sir Thomas smiling upon the Duke, "your Grace may not thinke, that the King, your maister and myne, will be offended with men for serving of God, his maister; or by this my present behaviour account his office dishonoured." Sir Thomas spake both devoutly, and like a wise man.

And this was one virtuous and godly custome of his, that when he had committed to him any matter or office of importance, he would goe to the Church, and would be confessed, heare masse, and be houseled; and commend the matter to God, whose glorie he principallie intended in all things he tooke upon him. He would often goe on pilgrimage to holie places, but allway on foote [4]. In his processions in the Rogation week, he would be present. And once when the procession was to goe (according to the custome) to the confines of the parish, for his state and dignitie he was requested to ease himselfe with a horse. He answered, "God forbid he should follow his maister [5] on horse-back, when he went on foote." And this was much worth the nothing: such reverence he bore to holy and sanctified places, that there he

was wonte to do. And when he came to *Agnus Dei*, and had begonne it thrice with an hygh voyce, knelyng downe at each tyme on hys knees, the walles of the Castell, that was beseged, fell downe soddenly to the grounde: and so the Castel was destroyed, and his enemys overcomen. And thus ye may se, that there is no better armure of defence agenst all enemyes, than devout syngyng of our Lordes service." *Mirror of our Lady*. fol. 13. A. D. 1530.

[4] *But allway on foote.*] "Quod in Anglia (says Stapleton) vix plures faciunt." *Tres Thomæ*. p. 88.

[5] *Follow his maister.*] This refers to the Crucifix, or else to the elements of the Eucharist, both of which (at different periods) were wont to be carried in the front of these processions. Stapleton, I see, adopts the former interpretation. *Tres Thomæ*. p. 87.

would

would neither talke nor confer of any temporal matter, thoughe the matter were of weight and speedie, and his leisure at other tymes but very short.

2. There was nothing in the world that more pleased and comforted him, than when he had done some good deed to other men; of whom some he relieved with his money, some by his authoritie, some by his good worde, some with his good Counsail. Never was there anie man that sought relief and help at his hands, that went not from him cheerful. For he was, as a man may say, the publique patrone of the poore, and thought he had procured himself a great benefit or treasure, as often as he could by his counsail or other wise, pleasure and ease the mind of anie man in anie difficult matter, either ghostlie or bodilie; or if he could pacifie any that were at variance and debate. He would before he was Chancellour goe by obscure places and lanes, and give his almes verie liberallie, not by the pennie or half-pennie, but sometymes five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty shillings, according to everie ones necessitie. He often invited his poore neighbours to his table, and would be merrie and pleasant with them. But those that were riche and of wealthe seldom were invited. In Chelsey he hired a house for lame, poore and old men, and kept them at bed and at borde, at his owne cost and charges.

3. Sir Thomas was of a mild gentle and patient nature. He never hated any. For he would say, "Either he whom I hate is good or bad. If he be good, then am I nought to hate him. If he be ill, either he will amend, and so be saved; or else persevere ill, and so everlastinglie perish. If he shall be saved, why should I hate him whom eternallie I must love, like, and delight in? If he shall

shall be damned, his torments and paines shall be so great and intolerable, that rather we have cause to pitie and have compassion for his miserie, than to add affliction to affliction, in hating and envying him." Mr. William Roper, for sixteen yeares space he lived in his house, never sawe him so much as once in anie fume or choler.

On a tyme, when he was Lord Chancellour of England, the Water Bailiffe of London, sometyme his servant, having heard, where he was at dynner, certaine merchants falsely to slander and raile against his old maister, waxed so discontented therewith, that he came hastilie to Sir Thomas, and told him what he had heard. "And were I, Sir," quoth he, "in that authoritie and place that your Lordshippe is, surelie such men should not be suffered, so villanouslie and falslie to misreporte me: wherefore I would wish that they were called to their answere, and accordinglie punished for theire ill tongues." Sir Thomas smiling upon him said, "Why, Mr. Water-baylie, will you have me punish those, by whome I receive more benefit, than by you all that be my friendes? Let them, in Gods name, speake as lewdlie of me as they list, and shoote never so manie arrowes at me; so none hit me, what am I the worse for that? But if they should hit me, then it would not a little trouble me. I have more cause, I assure you, Mr. Water-baylie, to pittie, than to be angrie with them: and I pray you, do you the like."

He would never sinisterlie or suspiciouslie take anie thing written, done, or spoken against him, perverting and wringing it to the worst, but make alwaies the best of every matter: and when the *thing* could not be defended, he would defend the *intent*, except it were too apparent evil.

If

If it happened anie learned man to resort to him from Oxforde, Cambridge, or elsewhere, as divers did, some for desire of his acquaintance, some for the famous reporte of his wisdom and learning, some for his counsaile in lawe matters, and to fall into argument and dispute with him; he would gladlie accept of such discourses, and therein he would shew such skill that few were found comparable unto him. And at length, if he perceived they could not holde further disputation without some inconvenience, lest he should discourage or make them blush, he would, as one that sought not his owne glorie, seeme to be conquered: and to animate them in theire studies, he would seeme more desirous to learn of them, than to teache.

A little before[6] he was Chancellour, it happened by negligence of one of his neighbours carts, all his barnes, and corne, and parte of his dwelling-house to be burnt; whereof when he understood it, he was not a whit moved; and being at the Courte when it happened, he presentlie wrote a comfortable letter to his wife, willing her, her children, and all her familie to repaire to the Church, and give God thanks, who might have taken awaye

[6] *A little before.*] "Sir Thomas More was made Lorde Chauncellour of England in Michaelmas terme, in the yere of our Lord 1529, and in the 21st yere of King Henry VIII. And in the latter ende of the harvest then next before, Sir T. More, then Chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, being retourned from Cameray in Flanders, where he had been embassadour from the Kinge, rode immediatly to the King at Woodstock. And while he was there with the King, part of his owne dwelling house at Chelsey, and all his barnes there full of corne, sodenlie fell on fier, and were burnt, and all the corne therein, by the negligence of one of his neighbours cartes that carried the corne: and by occasion thereof were divers of his next neighbours barnes burnt also." *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 1418. A. D. 1557.

all the resydue: and willed diligent searche and inquirie to be made, what damage his poore neighbours had taken thereby, which he said should be recompenced to the uttermost. The copie of this letter, because it is both sweet and devout, I will put it downe, as I finde it in his owne workes, word for word.

"Maistres Alyce, in my most hearty wise I recommend me to you.

"And whereas I am infourmed by my son Heron, of the losse of our barnes, and our neighbours also, with all the corne that was therein: albeit, saving Gods pleasure, it is grete pitie of so much good corne lost, yet sith it hath liked him to sende us such a chaunce, we must, and are bounden, not only to be content, but also to be glad of his visitation. He sent us all that we have lost; and sith he hath by such a chaunce taken it away againe, his pleasure be fulfilled! Let us never grudge thereat, but take it in good worth, and hartely thank him, as well for adversitie, as for prosperitie. And peradventure we have more cause to thank him for our losse, than for our winning. For his wisdome better seeth what is good for us than we do ourselves.

"Therefore, I praye you, be of good chere; and take all the houshold with you to church, and there thank God both for that he hath given us, and for that he hath taken from us, and for that he hath left us, which if it please him, he can encrease when he will. And if it please hym to leave us yet lesse, at his pleasure be it! I praye you to make some good enscarche what my poore neighbours have loste, and bidde them take no thought therefore: for and I should not leave myself a spoone, there shall no poore neighbour of mine bear no losse by any chaunce happened in my house.

house. I pray you be with my children and your houshold merry in God: and devise somewhat with your friendes, what waye were best to take for provision to be made for corne for our household, and for seede this year coming, if ye think it goode that we keepe the ground still in our handes. And whether ye thinke it good that we shall do so or not, yet I think it were not best sodenlye thus to leave it all up, and to put awaye our folk of our farme, till we have somewhat advised us thereon. Howbeit if ye have more nowe than ye shall neede, and which can get them other maisters, ye may then discharge us of them. But I would not that any man were sodenly sent away he wote never whither.

"At my coming hither, I perceived none other, but that I should tarry still with the King's Grace. But now I shall, I think, because of this chance, get leave this next week to come home, and see you: And then shall we further devise together, upon all thinges, what order shall be best to take. And thus as hartely fare you well, with all your children, as ye can wishe. At Woodstoke, the thirde daye of Septembre, by the hand of your loving husbande Thomas More Knight."

Towards his father he gave many proofes of his natural affection and lowlie minde. Whensoever he passed through Westminster Hall to his place in the Chancerie by the Court of the King's Bench, if his father who sat there as judge, had been set downe ere he came, he would goe to him, and reverently kneeling downe in sight of all aske him blessing. This virtuous custome[7] he alwayes solemnlie

[7] *This virtuous custome.*] "Non defrectavit publice in palatio Westmonasterii, loco judiciorum publico, a Patre flexis genibus, *juxta optimum gentis nostræ morem*, benedictionem petere.

lemnlie observed; though then men after theire marriages thought themselves not bound to these duties of younger folks. If they had at readings at Lincolnes Inn or elswhere chanced to have met togeather, he would offer in arguments and other observaunces the preheminence to his father, though for his office the father would not accept of it. These respects of an obedient child he kept whilst his father lived; and after he never forgat, both by hartie prayers, and manie tender remembrances of his virtue. In his death-bed he often came to visite him, and gave him most comfortable words, and procured all helpes both for bodie and soule, that in such cases be requisite. After his departure out of this world, with sighes and teares taikinge him about the necke he kissed and imbraced him, and commending his soul into the hands of his Creator caused many good prayers to be said for his soules ease.

And for all this gentle and meeke disposition of nature, yet his adversaries the Lutherans laid to his great charge, that towards Luther, Pomerane, Tindall, Frith, Barnes, and such other filth, he was very uncurteous and uncivill, that would in writing against theire blasphemous hereses, presume without great reverence forsooth to rehearse their wor-

tere. *Solent enim apud nos liberi quotidie mane ac vesperi benedictionem flexo poplite ab utroque parente petere.* Qui mos si apud alias quasdam gentes obtineret, haberent parentes filios magis morigeros, haberet respublica subditos magis obsequentes, haberet ecclesia fideles magis obedientes. Tametsi vero etiam apud nos viri jam facti, et vel conjugati, vel ad aliquam aut ecclesiasticam aut secularem dignitatem evecti, præsertim nobiles, hoc obsequii genus parentibus suis amplius non præstent, tamen, Thomas Moras pro insita sibi a teneris annis pietate et humilitate, etiam sceptra Anglicani regni gerens, et primus post regem, senem patrem hoc honore prosequi non recusavit." Stapletoni Tres Thomæ. p. 12. edit. 1588.

shipfull

shipfull names. But thus he aunswered himselfe. "If," quoth he[s], "anie of the new learned use theire wordes at theire owne pleasure, as evill and as villanous as they list against myself, I am contented to forbeare the requiting thereof, and give them no worse wordes againe, than if they had spoken me faire. But using themselves against Saincts, Church, Sacraments, Priest, Prince, People, and all that have been and are catholiques, so ungraciously and ungodlie as they do, faire words I will not give them. If they speake me foule they shall the better please me, for I delight not to have the pleasant oile of heretikes cast on my head: and the worse that folks speake or write of me, for hatred of the Catholike faith, for my part they doe me the greater pleasure. But rayling as they doe against all holies, I purpose not to beare that so patientlie, as to forbeare to let them heare some parte of their language; though not with that grace that they doe it. For to match them herein, I neither can though I would, neither would if I could; thinking it much worth rebuke, therein to strive for maistrie. For in railing standeth all theire revel; with railing is their roast meat basted, all their pots seasoned, all theire pye meate spiced, and all their manchet made of it." He addeth further, "If these Gospellers," saith he, "will not cease to be heretiks, let them at least be reasonable heretikes, and honest men; let them write if not reason, yet after a reasonable manner, and leave rayling. Then hardlie let these evangelicall brethren find fault with me, if I use them not in

[s] *If, quoth he.*] See Sir Thomas More's Works, p. 865. The extract is not made with scrupulous exactness. And it is hardly necessary to remark, that the same is true of the pretended citations, given a little below, from Martin Luther.

words

words as faire and as milde as the matter may beare; but assure them, if they write as they doe, I will handle them no otherwise than I have done."

Luther theire great patriarche of Germanie, drunken with the dreggs of heresie, belched forth a filthie booke, farst full of lies and blasphemies, intituled *De Captivitate Babylonica*. This booke in parte was aunswered by King Henry VIII., in a work of his written for the Defence of the Seven Sacraments. With this booke was Luther mightilie stung and offended; and having not to aunswere, fell to rayling and scoffing; and through all his aunswere to the king useth almost no other figure, but saucie malepeart; and plaieth the verie varlet; and in plaine words giveth the King the lie, which to the majestie of a king no man may utter by the lawes of nations; and useth so foule and unseemlie words, that a very ribbalde would blush to use the like. And this he saith: "Forasmuch as the Pope, Emperor, Bysshopps, Priests, Laitie, and all that be good, condemne my doctrine; it shall be as lawful for me, to accurse and condemne them. Yea to checke and to rate them, I will spit out of my mouth all the dirt, mucke, japes that I can upon theire owne heads, crownes and scepters." With such like, or worse shameful stuffe is the booke embalmed, that it smels worse than anie tripe wives tub. And in another place he calleth the King "*knave*," and telleth him "that he is possessed with a legion of divells." But Sir Thomas More so dressed him with his owne scolding and jesting rhetorike, that he burst the verie hart of Luther. *Responde stulto secundum stultitiam suam, ne videatur sibi sapiens*, Aunswere a foole to his follie, least he take him selfe for a wise man. So did Sir Thomas aunswere Luther. But because it seemed not agreeable to his gravitie, suppressing his

his owne name, he set forth the booke in the name of William Rosse, a mad companion that then wandered in Italie, and for the manner of his behaviour he was well known of most men.

Againe, the heretikes did saie, "he was a very chollericke and passionated man. And once he shewed it, for the escape of one Constantine an heretike, who was set in stocks, at his commandment, in his owne house, so that for the space of three dayes, for meere anger, he would neither eate nor drinke." But it was most false. Onelie he called for the Porter[2], and wished him to repaire and amend the stocks, least the fellow that ranne away, might haplie runne in againe; and so made but a sport of it, saying, "I will not blame him for this his fact; for I was never so hard to please, that I would be angrie with a man that would rise and walk, when he cannot easilie sit." His serenitie of minde was alwayes alike. Neither welth, riches, offices, nor disgrace, nor want could disturb him.

4. What wrecke and ruine hath honour and riches brought to manie a good man dailie experience teacheth. And he that hath so ruled his shipp, in passing through these gulphes, without touch of either rocke or shallow, *fecit mirabilia in vita sua*, he hath wrought wonders in his life; *quis est hic, et laudabimus eum?* who is he, and we will praise him?

Sir Thomas More spent most of his life in worldlye honours and high offices, where much wealth might be had. Yet *inventus est suic macula, nec post aurum abiit*, he was found without spot, not coveting after gold. The office of Chancel-

[2] *He called for the Porter.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 902.

lourship.

lourship, being the greatest office in this realme of England, and in dignitie next to the King, he was very unwilling to take it upon him; and he had utterly refused it, had it not been unmeet and unseemlie, obstinatelie to gainsay and contradict the Kings pleasure; who of entire affection and love made choice of him, as thinking him the meetest man of all others for that place. Cardinal Wolsey, when he sawe he must needes foregoe his office, which he possessed immediatelie before Sir Thomas, though he never bore him true hartie love, yet thought him the fittest, for his wit, learning, and other qualities to succeed him in his roome. This he certainely, yea feelingly knewe, by the experience he had of him. Sir Thomas thought it not his dewtie to withdrawe his service from his Prince and Countrie. So between the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke he was brought through Westminster Hall to his place in the Chancerie; where the Duke of Norfolke, in open audience of all there assembled, shewed "that he was from the King himself strictlie charged, by special commission, openlie to make declaration, how much all England was beholden to Sir Thomas More, for his good service; and how worthie he was to have the highest roome in the realme; and how dearlie his Grace loved and trusted him: so for this election all have cause to rejoyce, and give God thankes." Whereunto Sir Thomas, amongst other his grave and wise saings, giving the Duke humble thankes for his faire speeches, aunswered, "That although" (quoth he) "I have good cause to take comforte of his Highness' singular favor towards me, in that he hath alwayes, above my desertes, esteemed of all my endeavoures, yet I must, for my own part, syncerelie confesse I have done noe more than my bounden dutie required; and have manie times, for lacke

lacke of wisdome, learning and diligence, not so fullie performed my other meaner offices, but that many hundred in the land might be found better able to performe them than my selfe. But being now enhaunced to this high roome, which requires all the learning of the lawes, customes, and privileges of this land; so profound and politique a head as to weild matters of great importance, which this mightie and rich realme hath to manage, I tremble to thinke of myne owne insufficiencie; and withall, considering how wise and honorable a prelate hath latelie taken a sore fall in this loftie seate" (and here he sits him downe), "I have little cause to rejoyce, fearing a like or worse mishap. Wherefore, as I am charged, in the King's behalf, before you all to minister justice indifferentlie to all people, without corruption or affection, so I likewise charge you all, on the fidelitie you owe to God and the King, that if you shall see me at any time in any matter to digresse from anie parte of dutie in this honourable office, not to faile to disclose it to the Kings Highness; otherwise his Grace might have good reason to lay my faults on your necks, seeing this is the onelie way to remedie what may be amisse." These were some speeches of his at his first entrance to that office;, wherein so excellentlie he quitted himselfe that he wonne great fame and commendation.

It happened once one of his sonnes in law said merrilie unto him, "When Cardinal Wolsey was Lord Chancellour manie got well by him. Not only those that were neare about him, but his Yeomen, Door-keepers and Porters had their gaine. And sith I have married one of your daughters, and give attendance still on you, in good reason, methinks, I might look for something." "And soe thou maist sonne," quoth he; "for I may manie

waves

wayes pleasure you, or your friend: either by my good worde, or letter; or if you have a cause depending before me; at youre request, I may heare that before another; or if your, or your friends cause be not the best, I may move the parties to fall to some reasonable composition by arbitrement. Howbeit one thing I assure thee on my faith and honestie, I will never goe against equitie and conscience; no, if my Father stood on the one side and the Divell on the other, if his cause were good, the Divell should have his right." And this afterwards appeared to be true in his Sonne Herons case. For he having a matter in the Chancerie, and presuming too much of his father's favour, would by no means be persuaded to agree to anie indifferent order; then he made a flat decree against him.

Being in this high office, he used commonlie every after noone, at his owne house at Chelsey, to sit in his Halle, to the intent that all that had anie suit to him, might boldlie come to his presence. He kept noe door shut. Both to riche and poore he was readie to give audience. His manner was, before he would award any *sub-poena*, to reade over every bill of complaint himselfe; and if he found matter sufficient, he would set his hand unto it; if not, he would presently cancel it. He dispatched moe causes in shorter space than were wont to be in manie yeares, before or since. For once he sat when there was noe man or matter to be heard. This he caused to be enrolled in publique acts of that court. It is strange to them that know there have been causes there depending some dozen yeares. And there be so many things there heard, that it will be a rare thing to heare the like againe.

Once he made a decree against one Pernell, at the suite of Mr. Vaughan. This said Pernell complained

plained grevously to the King, that his Chancellour was a great briber and extortioner; and that he receaved by Vaughans wife, for giving sentence with her husband, a faire gilded cup, for a bribe. By the Kings appointment, after he had given up his Chancellourship, he was called before the Council to answere that matter; where by the Lord of Wilshire, who misliked him for his religion, it was forcibly urged against him, as a heynous cryme. Sir Thomas thus replied, "For as much as the cup was brought me for a new years gift, long after the decree was made, at the Gentlewomans importunate pressing it upon me, I confesse, I refused not to receive it." The Lord his enemie, in a rejoicing manner, not expecting the rest of his speech, "My Lords," quoth he, "I told you you should finde a foule matter of it: for I was enformed certainelie of the truth of it." Whereupon Sir Thomas desired their Lordshipps, that as they had curteouslie heard him tell the one parte of his tale, so they would of their honours indifferentlie heare the rest. So he declared unto them, "that albeit," quoth he, "I did indeed, with much a-doe, receive the cup, yet immediately I caused my Butler to fill it with wine, and I dranke to the bearer, Mrs. Vaughan; and when she had pledged me, I gave her the cup againe, as freelie as she gave it me, to deliver to her husband for his new-yeares gift; and at my instant request, against her will, she was forced to receive it. This her selfe shall depose, and others now here present can witnesse it."

And at another tyme, upon a new yeares daye, there came to him one Mistress Crocker, a riche widowe, for whom he had made a decree against the Earle of Arundel, and she presented him with a paire of gloves and forty pounds in Angells in them, of whom thankfully he receaved the gloves,

and refusing the money said unto her, "Mistris, since it were against good manners to for-sake a gentlewomans new years gift, I am contented to take your gloves, but as for the money I utterlie refuse it." So he forced her to take her gold againe.

A gentleman, one Mr. Gresham, having a cause depending before him in the Chancerie, sent, for a new years gift, a faire golden cup, the fashion whereof liking him well, he caused one of his owne presentlie to be brought him. His owne was better in value, but in his mynde not of so good a fashion; this he gave the messenger to deliver to his maister in recompence of his, and under other condition he would in no wise receive his maisters cup. Such was his innocencie and clearness, evidentlie proved to be voide of all corruption and partial affection.

You have heard how Sir Thomas, before he came to the Kings service, had a very worshipful living. After, he was of the Kings Council, Under-Treasurer, Chauncellour of the Duchie, and after High Chancellour of England. Moreover, how he was in manie honorable ambassages, alwayes in great favour with the King, and in his expences he was never prodigal nor wasteful: yet for all this[1], after the resignation of his office of chancellourship, he had not, for the maintenance of him selfe, his wife, children and nephewes, of all the lands and fees he had in England, besides the Kings gift, not yearlie the full summe[2] of fiftie poundes; whereof some

[1] *Yet for all this.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 867.

[2] *The full summe:*] "After the resignation of his office of the Lord Chancellor, he was not able, for the maintenaunce of himself, and such as necessarilie belonged unto him, sufficiently to finde meate, drinke, fewell, apparell, and such other necessarie

some he had by his later wife, who was a widow when he married her; some was left him by his father; some he purchased; and some fees he had of some temporal men his frendes. As for the lands he purchased, they were not above the value of twenty marks by the yeere. And after his debts paide, except his chaine of gold, he had not in gold and silver left him the value of one hundred pounds. Compare it with the wealth of some men that have these latter yeares possessed his offices, and there will appeare two-pence halfpennie a-yeare difference.

At that time he called all his children unto him, and asked theire advice, how they might, now in this decay of his abilitie, by the surrender of his offices so much impared, that he could not as he was wont, and gladlie would, beare out the whole charge of them all himselfe, from hence-forth be able to live and continue together, as he would wish they should. When he sawe them silent, and not readie in that case to utter theire opinions, "I will then" (said he) "showe you my poore minde.

"I have bin brought up at Oxforde, at the Inns of Chancerie, at Lincolns Inn, and also in the King's Court, and so, forth from the lowest to the highest; and yet I have not in yearlie revenues at this present left me little above one hundred pounds, either by inheritance, gift, or fee; so that we must hereafter, if we like to live together, be content to become contributaries. But by my counsel, it shall be best for us not to falle to the

necessarie thinges; but was inforced and compelled for lacke of other fewell, every nighte before he wente to bed, to cause a greate burden of ferne to be brought into his owne chamber, and with the blaze thereof to warme himself, his wife, and his children, and so without any other fire to goe to theyre beds." Life by Harpsfield. Lambeth MSS. No. 827.

lowest fare at first. So we will not descende to Oxforde fare, nor to the fare of New Inn, but we will beginne with Lincolns Inn diet, where manie right worshipful of good years doo live full well. Which, if we the first yeare find not ourselves able to maintaine, then will we the next yeare stepp one foot lower to New Inn fare, with which manie an honest man is contented. If that also exceed our abilitie, then we will the next yeare after fall to Oxforde fare[3], where manie grave and ancient fathers be continuallie conversaunte; which if our power stretch not to maintaine, then may we, like poore schollers of Oxforde, goe a begging with our

[3] *Fall to Oxforde fare.*] The fare of the Universities at that time was indeed sufficiently scanty and hard, (unless it underwent a great deterioration in the course of the next seventeen years) as we may fully learn from a description of the state of the Sister University, given at St. Paul's Cross in the year 1550, by Thomas Lever, soon after made Master of St. John's College.

"There be divers ther" *(at Cambridge)* "whych rise dayly betwixe foure and fyve of the clocke in the mornynge, and from fyve untyll syxe of the clock use common prayer, wyth an exhortacion of Gods worde, in a commen Chapell; and from syxe unto ten of the clock use ever, eyther pryvate study or common lectures. At ten of the clocke they go to dinner; whereas they be contente with a penye piece of biefe amongest four, havyng a few potage made of the broth of the same beefe, wyth salte and otemele, and nothynge elles. After this slender dinner they be eyther teachinge or learninge untyll five of the clocke in the eveninge, when as they have a supper not much better then their dynner. Immediatelye after the which they goo eyther to reasouninge in problemes, or unto summe other studye, untyll it be nine or tenne of the clocke; and then being without fyre, are feyne to walke or run up and downe haulfe an houre, to get a heate on their fete, when they go to bed.

These be nienne not werye of their paynes, but verye sorye to leve their studye; and sure they be not able some of them to continue for lacke of necessary exhibicion and relief." Signat. D. 5. edit. 1550.

bags

bags and wallets, and sing *salve regina*[4] at rich mens doores, where for pitie some goode folkes will give us their mercifull charitie; and so keep companie and be merrie togeather."

And that he might the more quietlie settle himself to the service of God, he made a conveiance for the disposition of all his lands, reserving to himselfe an estate onelie for terme of life; and, after his disease, reserving some part thereof to his wife; some to his sonnes wife, for a jointure, in consideration she was an Inheritrix of a faire living in Yorkshire; and some to Master William Roper and his wife, in recompence of their marriage money, with divers remainders over and above. Which conveyance and assurance was perfectly finished, long before that matter, whereupon he was attainted, was made an offence, and yet afterwards by statute clearlie avoided; and so were all

[4] *And sing salve regina.*] The good Catholic Beggars asked their alms in honour and worship of Our Lady. And even in the character of a mendicant Sir Thomas would, in singing the hymn *Salve Regina*, have continued to give testimony of his orthodoxy. It was objected to Joane John, early in the reign of Henry VIII, that she despised the pope, his pardons, and pilgrimages; and that when any poore body asked his almes of her in the worship of the Ladie of Walsingham, shee would straight answere in contempt of the pilgrimage, The Ladie of Walsingham helpe thee." Fox's *Acts*, p. 735. On the other hand the Protestant Beggars, and those who hoped to prevail with the Protestants, preferred their suit in the name of "*the* Lord." "These folkes" (says a zealous Romanist, in the time of Q. Mary) "woulde never saye "*oure* Lorde," which they said was a papistical terme, but "*the* Lorde," whiche declared them to be favourers of Gods word as they thought. And this terme was so universallye used, that the poore beggers hadde gotte it by the ende, by reason that begging thus "For *the* Lordes sake have pitie upon the poore," they thoughte the sooner to spede; and you shall heare it of manye of their mouthes as yet." Christopherson's *Exhortation against Rebellion*. Signat. S 2. A. D. 1554.

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his lands, that he had assured to his wife and children, contrarie to all order of law, taken away from them, and confiscate unto the Kings hands, saving that portion which he had appointed to Master William Roper; which although he had in the former conveiance reserved for terme of life, as the rest, nevertheless upon further consideration, two days after, upon a further conveiance he gave the same immediatelie in possession to Master Roper. And so, because the statute had undone that (only) which Sir Thomas was possessed of, the later conveiance was out of the compasse of the statute. So his livelihoods, after his attainture, were very meane to support the state of a Knight, and Counsellor to the King.

Yet for all this, Tindall, and his other Evangelical Brothers sai, and lie apace, "that they wist well, that Sir Thomas Moore, after he gave over his Chauncellourship, he was no lesse worth in money, plate, and other moveables than twenty thousand markes." Which report[5] Sir Thomas hearing, "I confess" (quoth he) "if I had heaped up so much goods togeather, as these brethren do reporte, I could not have gotten them by right, and goode conscience." And indeed after, he was founde to be a verie poore man, when his hous was ransacked and searcht, presentlie upon h committing to the Towere, where those that ha that office appointed did give evident testimonie his poore estate. And this his povertie was w knowne before to the Bishops, and other his esp ciall frends. The Bishops of Durham, Bath, a Winchester sent him twentie pounds, to buy hi a gowne, and a letter withall, desiring him to a companie them to the coronation of Queen Ann

[5] *Which report.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 902.

whic

which he receaved, and at the next meeting said merrilie unto them in this sort. "My Lords" (quoth he) "in the letters your honours latelie sent me, you required two things of me, the one whereof, sith I was so well content to graunte you, I thought I might be so bold as to deny the other; and this I did concerning the first, because I tooke you for no beggers, and myself I know to be no rich man, so I was the bolder upon that &c. &c." The rest of his speech to the Bishops at this tyme, I reserve for an after chapter, because he rather seemed to have prophesied, than to have spoken of any probabilitie of worldlie appearance.

The Hereticks laid to his charge [6] that he had receaved great sommes of money of the Clergie, for writinge bookes against their new learning. This was a shameful and an open slander. The truth is, the Bishops and Clergie of England, seeing the great travaile and pains he tooke in writing for the defence of the Catholicke faith, and the suppressing of heresies, the reformation whereof principallie appertained to their Pastoral Cures, they thinking themselves by his travaile in that behalfe, more than half discharged, and considering, for all his Princes favours and high offices, he was no rich man, nor in yearlie revenues advanced as his worthines deserved; therefore at a Convocation, amongst themselves, they agreed to gather up a somme of five thousand pounds towards some recompense of his pains, to the payment whereof everie one of the Clergie, after the rate of their abilities, were liberalle contributors. Where Tunstall Bishopp of Durham, Clarke Bishopp of Bathe, Vesey Bishopp of Excester repaired to him, de-

[6] *Laid to his charge.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 867.

claring

claring "how thankfully, for his travailes in Gods cause they reckoned themselves bound to consider him: and albeit they could not according to his deserts, so worthilie, as gladlie they would requite him for it, but must refer that to the goodness of God; yet for a small part of a recompense, in respect of his estate, unequall to his worthines, in the name of the whole Clergie they presented him with that small somme, which they desired him to take in good part." To them Sir Thomas answered, "that like as (quoth he) it is no small comforte to me, that so wise and learned men so well accept of my simple doings, for which I never intended to receave but at the handes of God onelie, to whome alone are theis thankes cheeflie to be attributed: so I give your honours humble thanks for your bountifull and frendlie considerations;" and for all theire importunate pressinge of him they could by no means fist him with one penny thereof. Then they besought him "to be contented that they might bestowe it upon his wife and children." "Not so" (quoth he) "my Lords, I had rather see it all in the Thames, than I or myne should have the worth of one pennie thereof. Though your offer indeed be verie frendlie and honourable, yet I set so much by my pleasure, and so little by my profit, that I would not, in good faith, for all this money and much more lose the rest of so many nights sleep as I have spent in these matters."—But we will put downe his owne words, as we find them in his Apology; where he saith most eloquentlie, for his manner, in this sort—"If any of the brethren thinke (as some of them say) that I have more advantage of theise matters, then I make showe for, and that I set not so little by money as to refuse it when it is offered me, I will not dispute with them about the matter, but let them believe as they list.

list. Yet this I will be bound to say, for myselfe, although they should call me Pharasie for my boast, and Pelagian for my labour; how bad soever they reckon me, I acknowledge that I am not yet fullie so vertuous, but that of my own disposition, without any speciall help of grace thereunto, I am over proud, and over sloathfull also, to be hyred for money to take halfe the pains in writing, that I have taken in theise matters, since I first begane: and this let them knowe, of all that I now posess, I had not a grey grote given me since I wrote my Dialogues, which was my first worke I made concerning matters of controversies. But yet they are not satisfied with this, but say there is somewhat in the winde, that I am so partiall to the Clergie. As for partiality to the Clergie, I mervaile whereon they gather it: Myself, *perdy*, am a temporall man; and with twice wedding am come to that passe, that I can never be Priest; therefore cause of partial favour to the Priests persons I have none. Marie, for their vocation I do, as everie good Christian man and woman are bound of deutie, give honour and reverence to the sacred order of Priesthood. For by Priests we are made Christian men in Baptism; by them we receave the other blessed Sacraments; of them we receave the interpretation of the lawes of God, whose Angels they be in these respects."

Little cause they had to call him partiall: for those that were naught in the Clergie, and fell into his hands for anie manner of crime, found so little favour of him that there was no man living, to whome they were more loath to come[7], than to Sir Thomas More. So neither hope of lucre, nor

[7] *More loath to come.*] *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 868.

suspect

suspect of partialitie could justlie be laide to his charge.

As Sir Thomas came to his Chancellourshipp against his will, so he tooke no great pleasure to be entangled in that busie office. Therefore he desired, and made great suite to be discharged of it, that he might bestow the residew of his life in ghostlie and spirituall studies and exercises; and when God had gratiouslie and mercifullie granted him this his boone, he was the gladest man thereof in the worlde. Indeed he had a great foresight of evill hanging over the realme, and that made him the more desirous to live a private life. He pretended infirmitie of bodie to the Kinge; and truth is, it was no naked and bare pretence, for that in verie deed he was troubled with a disease in his stomach, which continued with him manie monthes. He consulted thereon with his Physitians, who made him this answer, "that long diseases were verie dangerous," adding further "that his disease could not be holpen, but by little and little, in continuance of time, with rest, good diet, and Physicke." And this Sir Thomas considering, that either he must foregoe his office, or forslowe some part of requisite and wonted diligence; (for he perceaved he should be quickly unable to dispatch and weild the manifold and weighty affairs of that place), so if he continued he was like to be bereaved of both life and office; to preserve the one, he determined to foregoo the other. Yet for all, the Protestants, to make him the more odious, make report both at home and abroad, that More was thrust out of his Chauncellourshipp, as an unmeet man, yea and againſt his will. *Sed mentita est iniquitas sibi* (Psalm 26): for it was most false.

The Duke of Norfolke, High Treasurer of England, did openlie by the King's speciall commandment

ment declare, that Sir Thomas More, with much adoo, and after his earnest suite and supplication, was hardlie suffered to dismiss the said office. "For the Kinge" (quoth the Duke) "preferring Sir Thomas to that roome, tendered the good of the commonwealth, in chusing Sir Thomas More as the meetest man in all his realme for that place. So his Grace dismissing him, upon his earnest suite, in respect of his infirmities of his body, and his now decaying yeares, hath showed more tender and compassionate affection and especiall favour to Sir Thomas." The verie same thinge that the Duke declared, the same also the Lord Audley, who immediatelie succeeded him in his roome, in the Kinge's owne presence, and by his commandment, did notifie in his oration made in the Parliament next following. And the verie same also Sir Thomas himself declared in his Epitaph, which he had provided to be put upon his sepulchre. Wherefore the truth is, for all the Hereticks babbling, that as he entered into the office with the Kinges high favour, with the great good will of the Nobilitie, rejoycing of the People, and the expected profit of the commonweale; so it is true also, that he was most favorablie and honourablie dismissed, and upon his great suite. At his dismission the Kinge said unto him, (as he himself in a certaine Epistle of his doth testifie) "Sir Thomas, if there be anie thinge that shall concern your honour, (for that verie worde it pleased the Kinge to use) or pertaine to your profit, you shall alwaies find us your good and gratious Lorde, readie to pleasure you in anie thinge, and so make you account of us."

Of this surrender he was mervelous glad, as though he had receaved a speciall benefitt; so departing to

to his house[8], by the way he entered into the Church, and gave God thankes for this favour, thinking as well worldlie adversitie as prosperitie to be God's blessings. And with his estate thus decayed, he so managed his minde and suited his port, as became a wise and holie man to doo. For as no prosperitie or worldlie worshipp did make him looke aloft, and solemnlie set by himself, with contempt or disdain of others; so could no mishap, troubles, and adversities (whereof he had his portion in full measure) dismay him, or any way infringe and break his constancie, and well settled mind.

Of this change of fortune he made him game in this sort. It was a custome during his high office, for one of his Gentlemen to wait on my Ladie his wife, to know (as sone as Service was done) her pleasure, when she would goo home. He himself came to my Ladie's, his wife's pew, and making a low curtesie said, "Madam, my Lord is gone; pleaseth it now your Ladyship to goo home?" She knowing him to be her husband said, "I am glad Sir Thomas, you are so merrilie disposed." "Trulie Madame" (quoth he) "my Lord is gone, and is not here." She not knowing what he meant, he told her of the surrender of his office. The woman brooked it as a woman; he as himself, alwaies the same, merrie, wise, and constant.

5. Sir Thomas had a deep foresight and judgment of the tyme that followed; but rather he

[8] *Departing to his house.*] "He gave over that office the 16th day of May in the yere of our Lord God 1532. And after in that somer he wrote an epitaph in Latin, and caused it to be written upon his tombe of stone, which himself, while he was Lord Chancellour, had caused to be made in his parish Church of Chelsey." Works, p. 1419.

spake

spake by the way of *prophesie* of that which we since have full heavilie felt, and he then seemed certenlie to know; and thereof tooke such compassion, that he wished his owne death and destruction might remedie the imminent danger of future calamities.

It fortuned once, as he walked along the Thames side at Chelsea, with his Sonne in law Master Roper, talking of common matters, upon the suddine thus to say, "I would God, Sonne Roper, so that three things were well established in Christendome, that I were put in a sacke, and here presentlie cast into Thames." "What great things Sir, be these," quoth Master Roper, "that should move you so to wish?" "Will you know, Sonne Roper, what they be?" "Yea Marie, with a good will, if it would please you," said Master Roper, "to tell me." In good faith Sonne, these they be," saith he. "The first is, that where the most part of Christian Princes be now at mortal warre, they were all at one universalle peace. The second, that where the church of Christ is at this present sore afflicted with manie errours and heresies, it were well settled in a perfect uniformitie of religion. The third, that where the Kinges matter of Divorce is now in question, that it were, to the glorie of God and quietness of all parties, brought to a good conclusion." This he spake when he was Chancellour, and when this matter was little thought to be of such importance as to trouble the whole Christian orbe, and to be the cause and wreck of manie thousands perishing, as afterwards it proved.

At another time, before this matter of marriage was brought in question, Master Roper fell in talk with Sir Thomas of the good estate of the realme; and of a certaine joy commended unto him the happiness

happiness thereof, that had so Catholick a Prince, so grave a Nobilitie, so loyall and obedient Subjects, all agreeing in one faith, and labouring for one end. "The truth is," (quoth Sir Thomas) "as the face of all things now seemeth, all is well." So he highly commended all degrees and estates of this realme, in a fare better sorte than his Sonne had done before. "Yet Sonne Roper," (quoth he) "I beseech our Lorde that some of us, as high as we seem to sitt upon the Mountaines, treadinge Hereticks under our feet like ants, live not the day to be at league and composition with them, and to let them have their Churches quietlie to themselves, so they will be content to let us have our's, in the same manner." And when Master Roper told him manie considerations, why there was no cause so to say or suspect; "Well, well" (quoth he) "I pray God Sonne, some of us live not to see that day," but giving no reason of this doubt, there staid. To whome answered Master Roper, for which he was afterwards sorie, for his so ill placed speech, "Sir, it is desperatelie spoken." Sir Thomas perceiving him by his words to be in some passion, said merrilie againe, "Sonne Roper, be content man, be content, it shall not be so for all my sayinge;" (for his sayinge was no cause of the event, which afterwards happened.)

At that time when Cranmer had determined the matter touching the marriage of Queen Anne, even accordinge to the Kinges pleasure; who had sequestered himself from the Church of Rome, under the pretence that he could have no justice at the Popes hands, Sir Thomas said to Master Roper, "Sonne Roper, God give grace that theise matters be not in a while confirmed with othes, and urged with further severitie." At which tyme Master Roper, seeing no likelihoode of any such matter,

matter, was somewhat offended with him for so sayinge.

It was much like to this that he answered the Bishops, when they sent him the twentie pounds I told you of before, at the tyme wherein they requested him to accompanie them to the Coronation of Queen Anne. "My Lordes" (quoth he to them) "two thinges you required: in graunting to accept the one, I may be the bolder to deny the the other. For the first, considering my estate, and your wealth, I thought it not amiss so to doe; the other putteth me in remembrance of an Emperour that had ordained a lawe, that whosoever committed a certain crime, except it were a virgin, should suffer the paines of death, such was the reverence he bare to virginitie. Now so it happened, that the first committor of the offence was indeede a virginne; whereof the Emperour hearing, was in no small perplexitie, being greatlie desirous to have the law put in execution, and by example of justice to terrifie others. Whereupon when his Counsell sate long, solemnlie debating the matter, sodenlie there arose one amongst them, and said, "Why make you so much adoe, my Lordes, about so smalle a matter? Let her first be deflowered, then after may she be devoured." So though your Lordships have in this matter of matrimonie hytherto kept yourselves pure virgins, yet take good heed, my good Lordes, that you keep your virginitie still: for some there be that by procuring your Lordships to be present at the Coronation, next to preach for the setting forth of it, finallie to write in the defence of it, are desirous to deflour you, and when they have defloured you, they will not fail soon after to devour you. Now my Lords it lieth not in my power, but that they may devour me; but by Gods holie grace I will provide they shall

shall never deflour me." Sir Thomas foresaw as a wise man, what after the Byshopps indured with greate griefe both of minde and bodie, which they little thought would ever come to passe.

There was a booke entituled the Supplication of Beggars, the author whereof Symon Fishe (who afterwards recanted his errours, and died a good man) under pretence and colour of pietie forsooth, of helping and releeving the poor, fatherless, and other impotent persons, would have all Monasteries and Houses of religion pulled downe and turned into the Kinges hands. And craftilie goo they about to cast out all the Clergie, bearing men in hand that then after the Gospell should be preached, and money made of Church mens goods, the number of beggers and baudes would decrease; of idle folks or theives we should have few or none, the realme would growe exceeding rich, and in short space everie man receive exceeding great benefits, both corporall and spirituall. But Sir Thomas well foresaw what would then ensue, and so spake as though then he most certainlie sawe with his eyes all the garboyles and troubles, all the treasons and villanies, all the sinnes and enormities, that then would followe. "Expect, saith he, an ocean of evills, when this mans drift shall take effect. Then shall Luther's Gospell come in, and with it all evill: *cum eo omne malum.* Then shall heresies be preached; then shall the Sacraments be set at nought; then shall fasting and prayers be neglected; then shall Gods holy Saints be blasphemed; then shall God withdraw his grace, and let us run blindfold into our owne ruin; then shall virtue be had in derision, and vice be greatlie magnified; then shall youth leave labour; then shall folke wax idle, and fall to unthriftiness; then shall hoares and theeves, beggers and bauds increase without number;

number; then shall each man beare him bold of other, and seditiously flock togeather; then shall lawes be laughed to skorne; then shall the servaunt contemne his maister, and subject not obey, but constrained. What then but robberie, adulterie, perjuries, and all iniquitie!"

And how trulie he spake, daylie experience, to the greefe of all good men, doth certainlie, yea feelingly give testimonie to the worlde.

And to confirm that he had some insight in matters to come, mark this which now doth follow. On a tyme when his daughter Margaret resorted to him in the Tower, after he had a while questioned with her of his Wife and his Children, and the state of his house, at last he asked how Queen Anne did. "In faith Father," (quoth she) "never better." "Alas! Meg," (quoth he) "it pitieth me to thinke in what miserie, poor soul, she shall come unto, and that very shortlie!" And before one yeare was ended, she dyed a violent death; for she was beheaded for heynous offences, (as is to be seen in Parliament acts.)

And at another tyme, when it was told him how Queen Anne delighted the Kinge mervellous much with her dancing, "Well may it fare with her," (quoth he). "These sports will end in sorrow. Our heads for this dancing must pay for it; let hers stand fast[9], I charge her."

Once as he was coming from the Court, he found all his children and nephews at their prayers. "This is well done" (quoth he). "Use this exercise, as much as you may. Tyme will come, my Children, and you shall see it, that men will

[9] *Let hers stand fast.*] Queen Anne Boleyn was beheaded the nineteenth of May, 1536; and the very next day the King was married to Lady Jane Seymour.

make no more account of prayer, than they do of their old shoes:" which long agoo we have seen fulfilled in this our countrie, by the means of that foule heresie that now infects the worlde with her poisoned doctrine of securitie of salvation.

At another time he said in this manner to his Children. "It is now no maisterie, my Children, to go to heaven; for everie bodie giveth you good counselc; and everie bodie good example. You see virtue rewarded, and vice punished; so that you are carried up to heaven even by the chins. But if you shall live, the tyme will come, when no man will give you good counsel, no man will give you good example; when you shall see vertue punished, and vice rewarded: if you will then stand fast, and sticke firmly to God, upon pain of thy life, though you be but half good, God will allow you for whole good. This tyme, my good children, will come, therefore be provided for it."

6. We will now speak somewhat of his learning and writings, whereby he hath consecrated his worthie name to immortall fame, till the worlds end. Somewhat we have spoken of this matter before; how in his youth in Oxforde he followed and profitted in the studies of Philosophy, Lawe, and Divinitie. For an Oration, he had few his fellowes; and for his verse he was little inferior. It happened in the fourteenth yeare of King Henry the eighth, that Charles the fifth, the Emperour, came into England, and was most magnificentlie receeved by the Cittee of London. At which tyme Sir Thomas More made a merveilous eloquent oration in the presence of the Emperour and King, in their praises and commendations, and of the great love and amity the one bare to the other, and how singular comfort and utilitie both the realms receaved thereby.

Whensoever

Whensoever the Kinges Highness would make his progression to Oxforde and Cambridge, where by those Universities he was congratulated with most exquisite orations, his Grace would alwaies assign Sir Thomas as one prompt and readie extempore to make answer: which to his great praise he would presentlie doe. Yea in poetry he was excellent good. His Epigrams were pleasant, wittie, not byting, nor contumelious; whereof some he translated out of Greeke, some he devised in Latin, some in English: for this he was liked of Beatus Rhenanus *in Epistola ad Billebaldum*, where thus he saith; "Thomas More's verses run sweet and pleasant, not harsh nor strained, no lameness nor obscuritie therein. More is eloquent, wittie, pure, plaine; and all is so tempered in so sweet a measure, that no musicke can be found more pleasurable. I think the Muses have consulted to bestow upon him all their elegances, beauties, graces, all their wittie and pleasant conceits." This was also the opinion of *Leodegarius a Quercu*, a famous Poet of France; and others held him in the same account; yet never tooke he liking of them himself, as he writeth to Erasmus. *Mea epigrammata nunquam placuerunt animo meo, id quod ipse mihi Erasme conscius es.* My Epigrams never pleased my minde, as thou thyself Erasmus well knowest. His learning and skill in the Greek tongue was verie great: and what a learned man he was in our Common Lawes, his great offices bear witness: what in civill pollicies and government, what in historie and divinitie, he left testimonie to the world by his bookes and monuments. He wrote the Life of Picus Earle of Mirandula, and translated into English his twelve rules of a good life; and this in his younger age; at which tyme he wrote manie devout and sweet Epigrams. A little after he

wrote a Treatise *De Quatuor novissimis*, but left it unfinished. He wrote the Life of King Richard the third, both in Latin and English. He left them both unperfect, neither durst any to take upon them to finish the same, being by reason of the incomparable excellencie of the worke discouraged from that enterprise. He wrote also a booke of the historie of Henry the seventh: either the booke is smothered amongst his kinne, or lost by the injurie of this tyme. I doubt not but that it was like to the rest.

But the booke that carrieth the prize above all his other workes for eloquence, invention, and matter, is his *Utopia*; which he wrote about the thirty third yeare of his age. In it he painteth the patterne and platforme of a most perfect common weale, making it to be one of the new found lands. The invention was so wittiely contrived, that they thought there had been such a countrie indeed; and of their fervent zeale wished that some Divines might be sent thither to instruct them in the faith of Christ. This booke for the excellencie of it, is translated into the French, Flemish, and Italian tongues, with a good grace; but into English absurdly and lamely. After this he made another book, but in another kinde, against Luther. Of this we spake before. The matter was grave and substantial; the manner fit for the author of such filth as Luther in his book to the King shewed himself.

He wrote also a Treatise against the Epistle of John Pomerane, a great Piller of Protestancie. He wrote also an Exposition in Latin upon the Passion of our Lorde.

His bookes of controversie in English be these: The first is his Dialogues, commonly called, *Quoth he* and *Quoth I*. He wrote also a book against the

the Supplication of Beggers. Then wrote he against Tyndall, and Friar Barnes nine books. After this, in the deffence of the blessed Sacrament, he wrote against John Frith. After this his Apologie. And then anone after another booke intituled the Debellation of Salem and Bisance. After all this, being Prisoner in the Tower he wrote three bookes of Comfort in Tribulation, a booke not inferior to any of the rest. There is nothing in it but religion and piety; it is full of ghostlie and heavenlie counsaile. It is a work rather of an angel than of a man; for he was destitute of all bookes and human helps when he wrote it; he was close Prisoner, and had neither inke nor pen for the most part, but onlie a cole. Although his penn was blunt and dull, and but a blacke cole, yet he had another cole that inflamed his heart, such as toucht and purified the lips of Esay; and by the help of this sacred cole, that counsaile, which he gave to others in his bookes he practised himself in patient suffering the losse of his landes, goods, and life too, for the defence of justice. He wrote at this tyme a Treatise to receave the Blessed Sacrament: A Treatise of the Passion: manie godlie and devout prayers and instructions; and these most of them with a cole. And in effect theise be the works he made either in Latin or English, which, (considering his continuall business and employments in the great affairs of the Common Wealth, his house and family) were verie manie. It is great question whether is more to be mervailed, how in the worlde, having so manie occasions of lets and troubles he could write so much, or how afterwards, being destitute of bookes and other helps, he could write so cunninglie and exactlie of everie matter he handled.

Sir

Sir Thomas for his witt and learninge, even when he lived, throughout all Christendome was almost miraculouslie accounted of: as appeareth by the writings of sundrie learned men: Collet was wont to say, "England had but one witt," meaning that he had no peer: he spake it of Master More. Others compare him to Augustine; some to Chrisostome; and accounted he was of all of fame, for the mirrhour of the worlde. At that tyme John Colet, John Grocine, and Thomas Linacre were in place of his tutors. William Lillie, William Mountjoy, William Latimer his fellowe scholars: all excellent and learned men. His friends, Thomas Lupsett, the Greek reader in Oxforde; Thomas Eliot, not obscure of his writings; John Croke, King Henry the eighth his schole maister. Reignall Poole, afterwards Cardinall, was his especiall friend; and so was Edward Lea, Archbishop of Yorke, who wrote learnedlie against Erasmus. John Fisher Bishoppe of Rochester; and Cuthbert Tunstall Bishopp of London, after of Durham, Godfather to the Queens Majestie, that now is (1600). His externall friends were these: Budeus, a learned Frenchman; Martin Dorpius; Beroaldus; Buslidianus; Peter Giles of Antwerpe; Johanes Cochleus of Saxonie, Luther's scourge; Francis Granveld; Conradus Goclonius of Westphale; Ludovicus Vives of Spaine. But amongst all his friends none so deare and entire unto him as was the worshipfull merchant Anthonie Bonvice of the Cittie of Luke in Italie; to whom Sir Thomas, a little before his arraignment, wrote an Epistell in Latin, with a cole [1], for lacke of a penn. Sir Thomas

[1] *With a cole.*] "Yet still, by stealth he would get little pieces of paper, in which he would write diverse letters with a cole;

Thomas was wont to call him the apple of his eye. His Epistell translated into English is in this manner[2].

Sir Thomas was so well known to the learned abroad, that his opinion was thought sufficient to decide anie controversie. It happened once that a verie excellent learned man a stranger, satt at the table at a great man's house in this realm with Sir Thomas More, whom this stranger had never before seen. There was great reasoning between the stranger and some others of deep points of learninge. At length Sir Thomas set in foot, and demeaned himself so cunninglie, that the stranger, who was a religious man, was astonished to hear so profound reasons at a layman's hands. Whereupon he enquired of those that satt next him, what his name was; which when he understood he said as Queen Saba said to Solomon. "*Verus est sermo quem audivi in terra mea super sapientia hujus: non credebam narrantibus mihi, donec veni et vidi:* (3. Regum. 10.) True is the fame I have heard of this man's wisdom in my countrie. I did not beleeve them that told it: but now I am come myself, and I find it to be true, yea and more I find than was reported."

One thinge encreased much the fame of his exquisite learninge: for his manner was, when he had occasion to be present where anie Universitie was either in England, France, or Flanders; to goe to

cole; of which my father left me one, which was to his wife; which I account as a precious jewell; afterwards drawn over by my grandfather's sonne with inke." *Life of Sir Thomas More by his Great Grandson, Thomas More, Esq.* p. 240. edit. 1726.

[2] *In this manner.*] This letter, being somewhat long, unimportant, and very badly translated, is omitted. It may be found in the original Latin, in Sir Thomas's *Works*, p. 1454.

the scholes and hear the publick readings and disputations. And there he would often reason and dispute, so that he won the hearts of the learned, wheresoever he came. Againe one thing more gott him so many friends; for he was not curious in making choice of his friends, with such as desired it, and he liked; but entered once into friendship none more diligent to nourish and maintain it than he. In his friends affairs very diligent and carefull. In his owne negligent, in so much that in his apparell and expences he appointed John a Wood, a verie simple servant of his to be his tutor and overseer. In conversation with his friends he was not verie scrupulous or ceremonious, though he never omitted what civilitie and curtisie did require. He was sweet and pleasant in conversation, that all tooke singular delight and content in his companie, for he had a speciall gift in merrie and pleasant talke, yet alwaies without gall or bitterness; never hurt, nor slander in his sport nor jestings. "*Pectus ejus omni nive candidius*," as Erasmus speaketh of him. He was so pure and spotless, as no swan so white as his minde.

7. Sir Thomas, so wise a man and yet so sociable, so grave and yet so pleasant, it is hard to say whether he was a better senatour than a sweet friend: but this he solemnlie observed both in earnest and in jest, to show no change of countenance in anie thinge that he happened to speake.

Presentlie after Sir Thomas was called to be one of the Privie Counsell, Cardinall Wolsey, who was President of the Counsell, propounded to the Lords and Nobles present at the Counsell table, that it was verie expedient to have a Lord Constable (an office seldome seen in England). After he had urged the matter with many reasons, every mans opinion was demanded: who all seemed to like

like very well of the matter, and not one to gainsay the Cardinall, till Sir Thomas More at last, as being the meanest in that honourable Assemblie of great Prelates, Dukes, and cheefe Earles of the realm, had showed his mind that he thought it an unmeet proposition. And there he made such probable reasons for his so saying, that the whole counsell began to forethinke them of their forwardness, and desired a new sitting before they would give their resolutions.

The Cardinall stomaching the matter, as thinkinge himself injured by Sir Thomas, for he made full account to have had this office himself, spake in this bitter manner unto him. "Are you not ashamed Master More, so much to esteeme of your wisdome, as to thinke us all fooles and set here to keep geese; and you onlie wise, and set to govern England. Now by my troth thou shewst thyself a verie proud man, and a more foolish counsellor." Sir Thomas not abashed with this public check, answered him according to his disposition in this merrie, yet wittie sorte. "Our Lord be blessed (quoth he) that my Sovereign Leage hath but one fool in so ample a Senate;" and not a worde more. The Cardinall's drift was all dasht.

At another tyme Sir Thomas sitting as Judge, some little pettie fellowes were brought before him for picking and cutting of purses. Cut-purse art was not then so frequent, nor yet so heynous as now. They that were endamaged made means for their losses, and one of the Justices, a grave and an old man, all to rated the poor men, affirming that they were in great fault that had no better care of their money: for their negligence and carelessness made theeves, by giving them so fair occasion that they could hardly but doo as they did. Sir Thomas seeing the importunity of the old

old man, sought occasion to depart for that present, referring the hearinge of these matters till the next morninge. In the meane time he caused the thief to be sent for to his chamber, and there, after he had thoroughly chidden him, said unto him; "I have good hope that thou wilt do better hereafter; and see it prove so. For this time I will stand your friend, but you must shew me a tricke of your cunninge. You heard yesterday how the old gentleman chid them that lost their purses; if thou canst take his purse from him, and let me know when it is done, I will warrant thee for this tyme thou shalt take noe harme."

The poore knave promised his diligence, and being the next day the first man that was called to his answer, made a request to the Bench, "that it would please them to give him leave to speake, for he doubted not but to satisfie them at the full. But the matter he was to utter was secret; therefore he desired he might tell it to some one first in secret." That was graunted him, and when it was asked him whom he would have: "Sir if it might be you," said the thief, pointing to the old angrie Gentleman, "to you I would tell it." Then he and the old man went apart. The old man's purse was made fast to his girdle, which the thief spying gave it the looseing. After he had told a frivolous tale to him, he returned and gave notice of the purse to Sir Thomas. Sir Thomas taking occasion by giving an almes to a Prisoner, whose discharge was staid for lacke of money to defray the Keeper's fees, requests the Gentlemen on the Bench to help the poor man. He himself gave first. When it came to the old Justice, he put his hand to his pouch, and found it to be taken away; as angrie as ashamed, affirming verie seriouslie, that he had his purse when he came to the Hall, and he merveiled

veiled what was become of him. "It is well," said Sir Thomas, "you will now leave to chide my neighbours, who had as little care but not so good hap as you, for you shall have your purse againe." So he told who had it.

Sir Thomas being beyond the seas in ambassage, happened to dine amongst manie strangers of divers countries; and amongst other discourses of table talk, a question was moved of the diversitie of the languages, each man praising his owne for the best. They concluded English to be worst of all. "Nay soft," said Sir Thomas. "*Suum cuique pulchrum.* But yet by your leave, I must needs speake a word in defence of my language; and by good reason I will shew it nothing inferior to anie of your's. And first for antiquity; we Englishmen come of the old Britaines; the Britons of Brutus, he of Eneas Silvius, and he of the Gods. *O Chara Deum soboles.* So for antiquity I may compare with the proudest. Again you know, that *omne quod difficilius eo pulchrius.* Every thing the harder it is, the fairer it seems. Now let anie man here speak anie sentence in his owne language, and you shall hear me dialect and pronounce it as well as himself." And so they did. And without difficulty or difference he performed his promise. "Now I will speak but three words, and I durst jeopard a wager, that none here shall pronounce it after me. *Thwarts thwackit him with a thwittle.*" And no man there could pronounce it.

There was a Fellowe had lost his purse, and tenn pounds in it; and hoping to have it againe caused a solemn bill to be set up in Paules: "Whosoever hath found a purse," &c. Sir Thomas by chance sent for all the bills there. Amongst the rest happening on this, he smiling tooke his pen, and wrote underneath THOMAS MORE, and so sent it backe againe.

againe. The fellowe seeing his name, was full glad; for knowing him to be a good man he hoped to have his purse againe; so with great joy he repaired to Sir Thomas; who caused him to be brought before him, demanded his name, his age, his abode; asked what money was in his purse, when and where he lost it. He wrote all this; then said to him, "My friend, I am sorrie for your losse; but I have not your purse, nor I know not where it is." "Why then said the fellowe, if it may please you, did you write your name?" "Marie (quoth he) to this end, that I might knowe thee against another time; for if you cannot keep your owne purse, you shall not keep mine." So he gave him fortie shillings towards his losse, bid him be more warie hereafter, and dismissed him.

There was another fellowe had made a verie foolish book in prose, and presented Sir Thomas More with it, hoping for a reward for his labour. Sir Thomas read it, and greatlie misliked the book. At the next meeting of the fellowe, he asked him if he could turn it into meeter. "Yea," said the fellowe; and he did quicklie. When he brought it againe, "What," said Sir Thomas, "is it the same booke?" "Yea," said the fellowe, "word for word; but that it is now in verse, before in prose." "Then it is a faire piece," said he: "before it had neither rime nor reason; now it hath at the least, some rime, no reason."

Sir Thomas being at Brussels in ambassage from his King to the Emperour Charles the fifth, a bragging fellow vaunted himself the wisest and most learned in a countrie; and had placed papers in everie post, that he would dispute with anie, come who would, in anie question of what law soever, Civil, Common, Municipale, yea in anie point of other learning. Sir Thomas, seeing the exceeding vanitie

vanitie of the man, thought he needed modestie, and gave him this gentle gleeke; he caused this question to be written, "*Utrum Averia capta in Withernamia sint irreplegibilia*, Whether Chattell taken withername may be replevied," writing underneath that there was one in the companie of the English ambassadour that would maintaine dispute with him in that question. This glorioso, when he sawe this question knew not so much as the meaning of the terms, so was hissed at, and made a fable[3] to all that Court.

Sir Thomas being asked why he choosed little woemen for his wives, made answer, "Wote you not, that Woemen be necessarie evills? then do I followe the Philosopher's rule, who willeth us of two evills to choose the least. So do I of my wives, and yet had I enough of the least."

Sir Thomas his last wife loved little dogs to play withall. It happened that she was presented with one, which had been stoln from a poor beggar

[3] *Made a fable.*] When Williams, afterwards Abp. of York, was made Lord Keeper, by King James I., "one of the bar" (we are told) "thought to put a trick upon his freshmanship; and trolled out a motion crammed like a Granada with obsolete words, coins of far-fetched antiquity, which had been long disused, worse than Sir Thomas Mores *Averia De* Wethernam among the Masters of Paris. In these misty and recondit phrases, he thought to leave the new Judge feeling after him in the dark; and to make him blush, that he could not answer to such mystical terms as he had conjured up. But he dealt with a wit that was never entangled in a bramble bush. For with a serious face he answered him in a cluster of most crabbed notions, picked up out of Metaphysics and Logic, as *Categorematical* and *Syncategorematical*, and a deal of such drumming stuff; that the Motioner being foiled at his own weapon, and well laughed at in the Court, went home with this new lesson, *That he that tempts a Wise man in jest, shall make himself a Fool in earnest.* Bishop Hacket's *Life of Williams*, p. 75.

woman.

woman. The poor beggar challenged her dog, having spied it in the arms of one of the serving men, that gave attendance upon my Ladie. The dog was denied her; so there was great hold and keepe about it. At length Sir Thomas had notice of it; so caused both his Wife and the Beggar to come before him in his Hall; and said, "Wife stand you here, at the upper end of the Hall, because you are a Gentlewoman: and Goodwife, stand there beneath, for you shall have no wrong." He placed himself in the middest, and held the dog in his hands, saying to them, "Are you content, that I shall decide this controversie that is between you concerning this dogg?' "Yea" (quoth they). "Then," said he, "each of you call the dogg by his name, and to whom the dogg cometh, she shall have it." The dogg came to the poor Woman; so he caused the dogg to be given her, and gave her besides a French Crown, and desired her that she would bestowe the dogg upon his Ladie. The poor Woman was well apaide with his fair speeches, and his almes, and so delivered the dogg to my Ladie.

The Hereticks, finding fault with him that he was too long in his bookes, seeing their manner of writing was verie shorte, Sir Thomas answered, "as brief as they are, they be so much too long, even by so much as they are. For who can make a shorter voiage than he that lacks both his legges? for they have neither good matter, nor fit words. So these my good Brethren may be as short as sweet, that is, never a whit." Againe the Hereticks, being galled by his writings, found fault with him that he would reprehend them, seeing it was not in him to amend them. "Well spoken, and to good purpose, said Sir Thomas, so the fellow should never be hanged, except the Judge would

would be bound to make restitution." "You must prove, Master More," (quoth the Hereticks) "your assertions with the express word of God, not with your dreams and fancies." "It is well," said Sir Thomas, "that my verie dreams so trouble you. I doubt not but when you shall see my day labours, you will better advise yourselves; and feare to provoke the expert and learned in Divinitie, when the verie dreams of aliens in that faculty, have so much astonished you."

Sir Thomas likened the manner of his adversaries repeating his arguments, alwaies leaving out the chiefest force thereof, to the play of little Children, that make them in sport little houses of chipps, and will throwe them downe with a great facilitie; for this is solemn with all Hereticks[*], to

[*] *With all Hereticks.*] This general reflexion is exceedingly remote from truth.—What names, of those who had written when this Author was alive, are more eminent in the Popish Controversy, on the side of reformation, than those of Cranmer, Jewel, and Bilson? Yet Cranmer, in his grand work, his Answer to Stephen Gardiner, lays before his reader, every word of that Prelate's animadversions, as well as the whole of the original book against which those animadversions were directed. In like manner, Jewel, in his defence of the Apology, produces first the Apology itself; next Harding's pretended Confutation of it; and last of all his own defence against that confutation. He follows a like practice in his other great work, the "Reply." Bishop Bilson in the *True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion*, "repells" a considerable portion of his antagonist's performances, as he tells us word by word." What also does Fulke with regard to the Rhemish Testament; and to Gregory Martin's attack upon the English Translations of the Scriptures? Again, let any one refer to Nowell against Dorman, Dering against Harding, and a great many more Protestant writers, and he will immediately find not only that this imputation is not true; but that the Authors had taken the very best means to protect themselves (if it were possible) from such a charge, by inserting in their own books every syllable of those Treatises which were the subjects of their animadversions.

misrehearse

misrehearse the Catholics arguments, and to leave out the verie pith of their reasoning. "And herein," saith Master More, "they do with me, as an ill Champion doth to his adversarie, who having a day of Challenge appointed to wrastle, and fearing his might and cunninge, seeketh to undermynd by craft. So he gets him by one sleight or other into his hand, before the time of tryall, and dieteth him with such thin cheer, that the man is half hunger starved; and so when the day is come he is so feeble and faint, that poor sillie soule, he can scant stand on his leggs: *then* you wot well, it is no hard matter to give him a fall. But it is well with me that my feeding is so homelie, for I can battle and grow fat with anger and ill usage. So they can do me no great harm if they let me but live."

The Heretick Tindall in his Bible, translated *Presbyter* Priest, into *Elder;* and *Ecclesia* Church into *Congregation.* "This word congregation," saith Sir Thomas, "as Tindall useth it, no more signifieth the congregation of Christian people, than a fair flocke of unchristen Geese. And this worde Elder no more signifieth a priest, than an *Elder stiche.*" Tindall with Sir Thomas his substantiall reasoning was so amazed, that he was in a labyrinth, and manie times so brought to a bay, that he was like to a Hare that had twenty brace of Greyhounds after her, he so windeth and turneth himself in and out, this way and that way; so that with his subtill shiftinge he endeavoureth to blinde the eies of the simple; but he maketh the more watchful, and learneder sort as blind as a Catt; so he can be no more seen where he walketh, than if he had danced all naked in a net; and thus he plaieth the blind Hob about the house. But at last, after much adoo, Tindall mendeth his translation of

of the word *Presbyter*, which before he had translated *Elder:* he afterwards translated it into *Senior;* and therein he laboured so learnedlie, that Sir Thomas declared to him, that in his later translation he was much more helped with four faire vertues, malice, ignorance, errour, and follie. "And whereas" (saith Sir Thomas) "you promised to mend the errour; by translating *Elder* into *Senior*, you have as well performed it, as he that were blinde of one eye, to amend his sight, would put out the other."

After manie disputes with these wrangling and unlearned Mates, he puts Tindall, Barnes and the rest to dispute with the limping and halting Good Wife of the boothe at Pudle Wharfe, and makes her not to limp and halt so much as the lame and weake reasons of Frier Barnes do. But what they lacke in good reasoning, they have it in rayling; for in scoffing they are peerless; and especiallie Frier Barnes, who fareth as if he were from a Frier waxen a fidler, and would at a Tavern go gett him a pennie for a fitt of mirth. With these and such like merriments he seasoned the tediousness of his writings. These Evangelical Brethren found great fault with Sir Thomas, that he was so merrie and pleasant in his writings. "I would have hardlie beleeved" (quoth he) "that ever they would have thought me pleasant to them; for I thinke they have found little in my writings to have pleasured them. But seeing I please them so well, I will be as pleasurable as I may; for it is better to be merrie than waywarde."

Sir Thomas kept his accustomed mirth as a testimonie of a clear conscience in his greatest afflictions. Being brought to the Tower, the Porter at his entrance demanded, as the manner is, to have his uppermost garment, be it cloke or gowne. Sir

Thomas delivered him his hat: "Here hold my friend," (quoth he) "here is my hoode: for this is my uppermost; for it covereth my topp."

Being Prisoner in the Tower, the Lieutenant, who was his good friend and old acquaintance, desired him, that he would accept in good part, such cheer as he was able to make him. "Yea," quoth Sir Thomas, "here is good cheer, Master Lieutenant, God be thanked! And if any here like it not, turn him out of doors for a churl."

After he was close Prisoner, and had his books taken from him, and had neither inke nor paper allowed him, he caused all the windowes of his chamber to be fast shut. Being asked, why he did so, "Is it not meet" (quoth he) "to shut up my shop windows when all my ware is gone?"

Sir Thomas More being condemned, Sir Thomas Pope was sent to him from the Kinge, to bid him prepare himself to die, for by such an hour he should loose his head. When Master Pope perceived that Sir Thomas More was nothing dismayed nor altered for this message, he thought that Master More did not beleeve it. Wherefore he sought in earnest manner to persuade him that it was true, and saide to him, "Sir, you are but a dead man. It is impossible for you to live till the afternoon." Master More said not a worde, called for an urinall, and looking on his water said, "Master Pope, for any thing that I can perceave, this Patient is not so sicke but that he may doo well, if it be not the Kinges pleasure he should die. If it were not for that, there is great possibilitie of his good health. Therefore let it suffice that it is the Kinges pleasure that I must die."

At another time, there came a man of some reckoning, and was merveilous earnest and importunate with Sir Thomas, to have him change his minde,

minde, and that he should not be so obstinate and self-liked, as to persevere still in one minde. Sir Thomas either wearie of his tedious speeches, or desirous to be merrie, or to learne the man to speake more intelligible, for in all his discourse he never mentioned wherein he should change his minde, nor spake one worde, either of the Marriage, or of the Kinges Supremacie, or of any particular matter that concerned Sir Thomas, but onlie desired and urged that he would be better advised and change his opinion: "Sir," (quoth Sir Thomas to him) "I will tell you the verie truth. I have considered and preponderated all my affairs and doings, both publick and private; and now I see it very expedient for me to change my opinion; and so I meane to doe. Wherefore I meane—" and there he staid. The Courtier interrupting him, neither asking him, nor expecting the rest of his speeches, showes himself merveilous glad, congratulates him in his good chaunge, and desires him to continue it. And away he hyed to the King, to whom he told the good successe he had gott by conference with Sir Thomas. The King was verie glad to heare it, and commands him presentlie to retourne againe, and saith, "Commend me to Sir Thomas, and tell him" (quoth the King), "how gratefully I take it, in that he will not seem to strive with us anie more. And moreover give him to understand from me, that for further satisfaction of the worlde, it is our pleasure that he sett it down in writing, that all may see his loyalty and love to us, his Kinge and Lorde." The over hastie reporter of this blessed newes, repaires with speed to Sir Thomas, and declares to him the Kinges will and pleasure. Whereat Sir Thomas being abashed: "Now God forbid" (quoth Sir Thomas) "that anie worde passed betwixt you

and me here in secret, should be told the King." "It is well enough" (quoth the Courtier) "for I know it will verie much please his Majestie, to heare so good tidings." "What tidings be these" (quoth Sir Thomas)? "You told me," (quoth he) "you had changed your opinion." "Now our Lorde help us" (quoth Sir Thomas) "my opinion, my opinion, I have changed—but *in what*, I perceive you did not understand me, which had been verie requisite to have been done, before you had informed his Majestie. For now he may be highlie offended, as thinking himself abused by one of us." "Why" (quoth he) "have you not chaunged your opinion concerning the Supremacie and the Divorce?" "We talked of no such matters" (quoth Sir Thomas): "but you were still urging me to change my opinion; and I told you I had; and being about to explicate my meaninge, you were over hastie, for you interrupted me, and so in haste you departed; and in my mind a little sooner than good manners would. This then I would have said unto you. I have changed my opinion, concerning the cutting of my beard. For you see it is now all growne out of fashion since my coming into Prison: and you know it is the manner of those that have been of the Kings Counsell, or be Judges of the realm, to have their beards cut shorte and notted. And once I thought to have gone to my death, notted, as I was wont to wear it. But now I have changed my opinion; for my beard shall fare as my head, though the one be dearer to me than the other."

As he lived, so he died; allways posessing his soule in peace and tranquillitie. *Mens secura, juge convivium*, a quiet mind is a continuall banquett.

Going to the scaffold to loose his head, the ascending of the stairs not being verie easie, "Help me

me up with one of your hands," said he to one of the Officers, " for as for my coming downe, let me shift as I may: for by then I am sure I shall take no great harme." His head being laid on the block, the Executioner asked him pardon, as the custom is. " I forgive thee with all my heart" (quoth he). " Marie my neck is so shorte, I feare me thou shalt have little honestie by thy workmanship. See therefore that thou acquite thyself well;" and therewithall he gave him an angell for his paines. These his sweet and pleasant speeches purchased good will of all that knew him; and therefore in his Epitaph he speakes this of himself, " *Neque nobilibus eram invisus, nec injucundus populo:* Neither was misliked of the Nobles, nor unpleasant to the Commons." I must say, to theeves, murtherers, and especiallie to Hereticks he was no great friend, therefore he in the same place saith, " *Furibus, homicidis, hereticisque molestus fui.* To theeves, murtherers, and Hereticks I was allwaies grievous and offensive." And to be troublesome to Hereticks he counted it a praise; and therefore in an Epistle to Erasmus he saith in this manner. " *Quod in Epitaphio profiteor, me hereticis esse molestum, hoc ambitiose feci.* In that I confess me to have been displeasing to Hereticks, this I say I wrote ambitiouslie: for there is not any sorte of men that I worse like than they: for I see by daiely experience, so much evill by them, that it greeveth me to the heart to think of it." Yet all the while he was Chauncellour there was not one man put to death for heresie.

8. Now let us a little consider his demeanour towards his wife, children, and familie, which was so well ordered, that rather it might seem a religious Monasterie of Regulars, than a Mansion House of a Lay-man. And some perhaps will thinke

thinke it rather a wittie invention what it should be, than a historic what in truth it was. For everie bodie there had his time and taske so sett, either in reading spirituall books, prayers or other vertuous exercises, that you would thinke it Mary and Martha's house, fitt to give entertainment to their Creator. There was no strife, no debate, no wanton or unseemlie talke. Idleness the bane of Youth was quite excluded. To labour and to be vertuous was their onlie care. His servants he would in no case suffer to be idle; for he would say "large food and rest bring diseases both to bodie and minde." Therefore some he appointed to trimme and weed his Garden, allotting to each a plott, that by striving each to keep his portion best, they might delight to be working. Some he appointed to teach Musicke, both Song and Instrument. Others to write; others to painte. Some he would have to mend and sowe apparell. Of Cards and Dice no use at all. Besides this, he observed that his men should lodge in one part of his house, and woomen in an other: nor would he suffer any familiarity amongst them; hardlie to speake; more seldome to converse together, but upon especiall occasion. When he was at home, his custome was, besides private prayers which he never omitted, daylie in the morning with his Children to say the seven Psalms and the Letanies with the Suffrages; and at night before he went to bed, he would call all his household to goo with him to the Chappell, or to his Hall and there on his knees to say the Psalm *Miserere mei, Deus misereatur nostri, &c.* the Anthem *Salve Regina,* and the Psalme *De profundis.* This he did even when he was Lorde Chauncellour. He had also the care that on everie Feaste and Sunday all should hear Masse. At the solemnities of Easter, Christmas, Whit Sunday, All Saints, and the

the like, he would have all to arise at night, and go to the Church, there to be present at Mattins, and after at Even Song.

He would never strike any of his servants, nor give them any words of contumelie or reproach. If he had anie occasion to chide them, it was in such mild sort, that his verie chiding made him more to be loved. They would be glad to have given occasion in some light matter, (yet feared to give occasion) that they might enjoy his sweet and loving chiding. Often he would, but especiallie upon Good Friday, cause the Passion of our Saviour to be red before all his familie. And he would here and there explicate the text by manner of exhortation. Allwaies at his table he had red first a chapter out of the Bible: then some comentarie, or some spirituall book. Not a word was spoken all that tyme. Either one of his Daughters, his Sonne John, or Margaret Gige, till they were married, by turns did reade. The reading was ended when the sign was given with, "*Tu autem Domine miserere nobis*," according to the ecclesiasticall manner.

He conversed with his Children in most loving manner. He would talk with them of the joyes of heaven, and the pains of hell; of the lives of the holy Martyrs, of their patience, and love of God; and tell them what a happy and blessed thing it was, for the love of God, to suffer the losse of goods, imprisonment, losse of lands, and life also. And he would further say unto them, that upon his faith, if he might perceave, that his Wife and Children would encourage him to die for a good cause, it should so much comfort him, that for verie joy thereof it would make him merrilie to runne to death. And to have them the better prepared against troubles, he would show what was possible,

possible, though not like to fall unto him. If his wife, or anie of his children were sike or diseased, he would say unto them, "We may not look, at our pleasures to go to heaven in featherbeds, and with full bellies; it is not the way; for our Saviour himself went thither with great paine and tribulation; and the crosse was the path wherein he walked, leaving us example to followe his stepps. The Servant is not to look to be in better case than his Master. Be of good comfort, and be patient; for this sickness is sent you of God to purchase you heaven." He would tell them the means to attain to this vertue, or to that; and to flie or shunn this vice, or some other; and as speculatively, so practicallie taught them to embrace vertue, and speciallie humilitie.

His Sonne John's Wife often had requested her father in law, Sir Thomas, to buy her a billiment, sett with pearls. He had often put her off, with many prettie sleights; but at last, for her importunity, he provided her one. Instead of pearles, he caused white peaze to be sett; so at his next coming home, his Daughter demanded her jewell. "Aye marrie, Daughter, I have not forgotten thee." So out of his studie he sent for a box, and solemnlie delivered it to her. When she with great joy lookt for her billiment, she found, far from her expectation, a billiment of peaze; and so she allmost wept for verie greefe. But her Father gave her so good a lesson, that never after she had any great desire to weare anie new toy.

They having so vertuous and good education, could not chuse but prove most toward Children. He provided good maisters for them. Dr. Clement, a famous Phisitian, was one. William Gunnell (whose memorie is yet fresh in Cambridge, for his learning and his workes of pietie), Richard Hart, and

and others taught them humanitie, Greek, Latin, Logique, Philosophie, the Mathematiques; and withall they red unto them some easie things in Divinitie; and how much they profitted herein, we will particularlie sett downe: but first we will speak of his Wives.

Sir Thomas was twice married, as before I said: first to Joan Colte, a young maid, and a gentleman's daughter of Essex. She was very vertuous, and pliable to all his will and pleasure. By her he had three daughters, Margaret, Elizabeth, Cicilie; and one onlie sonne whose name was John. His wife, when he first married her, she was after her Countrie fashion rude and untaught: but he soon framed her to his disposition and appetite. He caused her to be instructed in learning, and all kind of Musicke; and shee so well liked him, that no doubt if she had lived, he should have had a sweet and contented life with her.

His three Daughters were thus married. Margaret to Maister William Roper; who had by him two sonnes, Thomas and Anthony, and three daughters Elizabeth, Marie, and Margaret. His second Daughter had to husband, John Dansey; and she had five Sonnes and two Daughters. Cicilie was given in marriage to Giles Heron; and they had two sonnes and a daughter. John More, his onlie sonne, married Mistress Anne Chrisacre, a Gentleman's daughter of worshipp in Yorkshire. She was the onlie heir of her Father, and by her came a fair living. Master John More had by her six sonnes; Thomas, Austin, Edward, Bartholomew, another Thomas, Francis, and one onlie daughter called Anne. Thomas the eldest sonne of John, and God-son to Sir Thomas the grand-father, married the daughter of Master Scroope, and are now both living. (Anno Domini 1599.) He hath three

comelie

comelie Gentlemen to his sonnes, and five daughters now alive. He hath had thirteen Children, of whom I could relate particular matter much worthie the noting; but seeing they are yet living, and they desire rather to be known by their vertues, than by other's penns, I shall cease from that labour. Eleven of this offspring were born before Sir Thomas his death and imprisonment.

Now that Sir Thomas had so manie Children, and so great a family, he knew the care in ruling and governing them was great; and to ease himself of that burden determined to marrie againe; so for that end principallie he married a Widdowe, whose skill in such matters he thought would much ease him. This wooman most lovinglie he used. Though she was aged, blunt, rude, and barren, yet he of his wisdome, or rather pietie, so cherished, and made much of her, as if she had been his first young Wife, adorned with happie issue of her bodie. She was also sparefull, and somewhat given to niggardliness. Yet such as she was, he by his dexterity so fashioned her, that he had a quiet and pleasant life with her, and brought her to that order that she learned to play and sing: and ever, at his returne home, he tooke an account of the task he had enjoyned her touching these exercises; but with such showe of love, that she desired to please him the better. The greatest fault she had, was she would now and then show herself to be her Mother's daughter, kitt after kinde: it is but their natures to be a little talkative.

Once after Shrift she bad Sir Thomas be merrie: "for I have" (quoth she) "for all this whole day left my shrewdness; for I have been at confession: but to morrow I'll begynne afresh." And though it was spoken in merriment, yet was it full often true; as himself acknowledgeth in his Books of Comforte,

Comforte, though as his manner was, under a disguised Woman of Hungary he reported it. That she had a tongue you shall see by this. For when she saw Sir Thomas had no list to grow upwarde in the worlde, nor labour for office of authority; and besides that, forsook a right worshipfull place when it was offered him, she fell in hand with him, and all to be-rated him. "What will you doe" (quoth she) "that you list not to put yourself forth as other folkes doe? Will you sit still by the fire, and make Goslings in the ashes with a sticke, as Children doe? Would God I were a Man, and look then what I would doe!" "Why Wife" (quoth Sir Thomas) "what would you doe?" "What? Marrie, goe forward with the best of them all" (quoth she). "For as my Mother was wonte to say, (God have mercie on her soule!) it is ever better to rule, than to be ruled. Wherefore I would not by God I warrant you, be so foolish to be ruled, where I might rule." "By my troth wife," (quoth he) "in this I dare say, you say true: for I never found you willing to be ruled so long as I have knowne you."

Againe, when he was Prisoner in the Tower, and had continued there a good while, she at last obtained licence to see him. Who at her first coming, like a simple, ignorant Woman, after her homely manner, thus bluntly saluted him: "What a good yeare, Master More, I mervaile what you mean. You have been hitherto taken for a wise man; and will you now so much play the foole, as to lie here in this close and filthie Prison; and to be shut up alone with mice and ratts, when you might be abroad at your libertie, with the favour and good will of the King, and all his Counsell, if you would but doe as all the Bishopps, and the best learned in the realme have done. And seeing you have at

at Chelsea a faire house, your librarie, your books, your gallerie, your gardin, your orchard, and all other your necessaries, so handsome and fitt about you, where you might, in the companie of me your Wife, your Children, and houshold be merrie; I muse what, a Gods name, you mean, to be here still." After he had heard her a while quietlie, with a cheerful countenance, he said to her. "I pray thee good Mistress Alice" (for that was her name) "tell me one thing." "Whats that?" (quoth she). "Is not this House" (quoth he) "as near Heaven as my owne?" She not likinge such talke answered, "Tillie vallie, tillie vallie." "But how say you, good Wife, is it not so" (quoth he)? "*Deus bone, Deus bone*, will this geare never be lefte" (quoth shee)? "Well then, my good Alice, if it be so" (quoth he), "it is well. Moreover I see no great cause, why I should so much joy, either of my gay house, or of any thinge belonging thereunto, when if I should be buried but seven yeares under the ground, I should not fail to find some therein, that would not sticke to bid me get out a doors, and tell me the house were none of mine. What cause then have I to like such a house that would so soon forget his maister?"

At another tyme she came againe to visit him; and amongst many matters that she was sorrie for, for his sake, one she much lamented in her mind; which was, that he should have his chamber door made fast upon him everie night. "By my troth," (quoth shee), "if the door should be shut upon me, I thinke it would stop my breath." At that Sir Thomas smiled, but durst not laugh out for fear of displeasing her (as he saith himself); and thus he answered: "Gentle Wife, I wott well you use to shutt your Chamber within, both doores and windowes, and not to have them opened all the

the long night: and what difference is there between them, for the stopping one's breath, whether the Chamber door be shut within or without?" When Sir Thomas divers times had beheld his wife, what paines she took with straight bynding up of her hair, to make her a faire large forehead; and with lacinge in of her bodie to make her middle small, and all for a little foolish praise; he said to her, "Madam, if God give you not Hell, he shall doo you great wrong; for of right it is your's; you buy it so deare, and take such paines for it." Therefore you see Sir Thomas had some cause, as well as his Father, who was wont merrilie to say, "that the choice of taking a wife is like as if a blinde man should put his hande into a bagge full of snakes, and eeles togeather; seven snakes for one ele:" And if he had heard any man say, his wife was a shrewe; he would say, "you defame her, and so do all those that saie the like of their wives: for there is but one shrewe in the worlde, and that one is mine; and so weeneth everie man that is married." But Sir Thomas so much bettered the state of her minde, that I doubt not she is a saved soule: and now enjoyeth each the other's companie in Blisse. Thus much of his Wives.

Wee will beginne with his *eldest Daughter* Mistress Margaret Roper, who prickt nearest her Father, as well in witt, learning and vertue, as also in merrie and pleasant talke, and in feature of bodie. She was to her Servants meek and gentle; to her Brothers and Sisters most lovinge and amiable; to her Friends stedfast and comfortable, and would give verie sound counsaile, which is a rare thinge in a Woman.

Some men, of good callinge and experience, in their perplexities and difficult causes would consult with her, and found, as they afterward reported,

as grave and profitable counsaile at her hands, as they doubted to find the like else where, for age and sex more likely than shee. To her Children she was a double Mother, as not onlie to bring them forth into the worlde, but also brought them to Heaven warde, by instructing them in vertue and learning. It happened her husband, upon a displeasure taken against him by the Kinge was sent to the Tower; whereupon certaine Commissioners were sent to search his house. So upon a sodeine coming to her, they found her, not puling and whining (as commonlie they doo in such cases), but cheerfullie teaching her little children. They delivered to her their message; wherewith she was nothing apalled, but in her talke to them she showed such constancie, gravitie and wisdome, that they were in great admiration at her demeanour, and afterwards they would say that they could never speake so much good of her as she deserved.

To her husband she was such a wife as I suppose it were hard to match her. For she was so debonaire and gentle a Wife, that Master Roper thought himself a happie man, that ever he happened upon such a treasure; and he had her in such estimation, that he would often say "that she was more worthie, for her excellent qualities, to have been a Princes Wife." And he againe was of his part, so sober to her, so sweet, so modest, and so loving a husband, that if he had not been her husband, it might have seemed to have been her owne Germaine Brother, as Erasmus was wont to say of a happie couple. But above all she was to her Father a most naturall loving Childe. And albeit her behavioure and reverence towards him all her life time was much to be commended, yet never so notablie as after her Father's trouble and imprison-

ment; and then not so much for her paines and travaile, which she took to procure him some ease and relief, as for her wise and godlie talke, and for her comfortable letters she often sent him, and for some other reasons; so that it well appeared, she was the chiefest and onlie comfort almost he had in this worlde.

It happened once, long before his troubles, his Daughter was verie sicke. The Phisitians, and all other, despaired of her health. The disease was then unknown, and dangerous[5]. The onlie remedie

[5] *Unknown and dangerous.*] "This distemper began at first in 1483, in Henry VIIths army upon his landing at Milford haven, and spread itself in London from the 21st of September to the end of October. It returned here five times and always in summer; first in 1485; then in 1506; afterward in 1517, when it was so violent that it killed in the space of three hours. It appeared the fourth time in 1520, and again in 1528, which seems to be the time when this lady had it, and proved mortal in the space of six hours... The only cure was to carry on the sweat, which was necessary for a long time: sleep to be avoided by all means. Dr. Freind's History of Phisick, vol. II. p. 335.

In addition to the above note, borrowed from Lewis's edition of Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 46, I shall produce, from a contemporary writer, a description of the *moral phenomena* which displaid themselves, upon the return of this dreadful malady, in the reign of Edward VI. The account deserves to be classed with those of a like kind given by Thucydides, in his description of the Plague at Athens; by Hodges and other writers, in their narratives of the great plague in 1665, &c. &c. The extract is taken from the famous *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power, by D. J. P. B. R. W.* initials, as it has been supposed, intended to denote Dr. John Ponet, Bishop (of) Rochester (and) Winchester.

"*Whan* the Great Sweat was in England, in the tyme of King Edwarde, a little signification of a greater scourge folowe-ing; and many that were mery at Dyner, were buried in the evenyng; some that went at night to slepe lustie, were founde in bedde dead in the mornin; some that went not farre from their owne house, never returned: *than* as long as the fervent-

nesse

medie they could then find out by experience was to be kept from sleeping. It was in the time of the great sweat. All means were sought to keep her awake, but it would not be, so there was no hope of her recoverie. Her Father, who most entirely loved her, sought remedie at Gods hands: so went to the Chappell in his New building, and there upon his knees with tears most devoutlie besought the Divine Majestie, that it would like his goodness, unto whom nothing was impossible, if it were his blessed will, at his mediation to vouchsafe gra-

nesse of the plage lasted, ther was cryeng, "*Peccavi, peccavi, peccavi;* I have sinned, I have sinned, I have sinned: Mercie, Good Lorde, mercie, mercie, mercie." The Ministers of Gods worde were sought for in everi corner: they could not rest; they might not slepe. "Ye must come to my Lorde. Ye must come to my Lady. My Maister prayeth you to come straight unto him. My Maistres must needs speke with you. Come, if ye love God. And if ye love their salvacion, tarye not." "For Goddes sake, Master Minister" (saye the sicke folkes) "tell us what we shall doo, to avoide Godds wrothe. Take these bagges. Paye so muche to suche a man, for I deceaved him. Geve him so muche, for I gat it of him by usurie. I made a craftie bargain with suche a one; restore him so muche, and desire him to forgeve me. I have taken bribes of suche a one, I pray you geve him so muche more again. I have spoken evil of suche a man, God forgeve it me. I have bene a hooremonger, a bawde, God perdone me. Dyvide this bagge among the poore. Carrie this to the Hospital. Pray for me for Goddes sake. Good Lord forgeve me, I have dissembled with thee. I pretended to love thy word with my lippes, but I thought it not with my hart. But now I see Thou knowest the secretest secretes, and wilt not leave evil unpunished. Have mercie on me, and forgeve me Good Lord, I beseche thee from the botome of my harte."—This was the dissimulacion of the people for three or foure daies, whiles the execucion was. But after whan the rage was somewhat swaged, than return they to their vomite, worse than ever they were. Than, that they had before caused to be restored, and geven in almose, they seke to recover by more evil favoured chevisaunses. But God is not blynde, nother is his hande shortened."—Signat. M. edit. 1556.

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tiouslie to hear his humble petition for his daughter. It came then presentlie into his minde that a Glister would be the alone remedie to help her sleeping, which waking she would not have suffered; and therewith she was thoroughly waked. The Phisitians misliked this counsaile, yet it pleased God, for her Fathers fervent prayer, as we may verilie thinke, to restore her to perfect health. Yet Gods markes (an evident token of present death) plainely appeared upon her: whereby it is plain that this help was more than naturel. Her Father loved her so dearlie that if it had pleased God then to have taken her to his mercie, he had determined never after to have meddled with worldlie matters. But now in his imprisonment her daughterlie affection did double itself. In one letter to her he writeth, that to declare what pleasure and comfort he tooke of her wise and elegant letters, a pecke of coles will not suffice to make him penns; merrilie insinuating what lack he had of fitter tooles.

Erasmus wrote many Epistles to her, and dedicated his Commentaries on certaine hymnes of Prudentius to this Gentlewoman, and calleth her the flower of all learned Matrones of England. Nor was she meanlie learned. She compounded in Greek and Latin both verse and prose, and that most eloquentlie. Her witt was sharp and quicke; and to give you a taste thereof, know this: Saint Ciprians workes had been in those days oftentimes printed; yet there remained amongst other faults one notable uncorrected, and thereof no perfect sense could be made, to the laming, and blemishing of a most notable sentence and testimonie of so ancient and sacred a writer. The words were these. "*Absit enim ab Ecclesia Romana vigorem suum tam prophana facilitate demittere, et nisi vos severitatis eversa fidei majestate dissolvere.*" Which

place when Mistress Margaret red, presentlie without anie help of other example or instruction, "These words *nisi vos* must be" (saith shee) "*nervos*." So the sentence by mending of that worde *nisi vos*, into *nervos*, is made plain and perspicuous. This correction of hers, is noted of John Costerius in his Commentaries uppon Vincentius Lirinensis, and by Pamelius in his Annotations on Saint Ciprian's Epistle thirty first.

Quintillian, to shew the excellencie of his cunninge in witt, made an Oration in the behalf of a poor man, whose Bees standing in a rich man's garden, were killed with poison sprinkled upon the flowers. She made another oration, answering his, in the defence of the rich man, wherein she quitted herself so well, that it is nothing inferior to that of Quintilian, though her part was the harder to defend.

Reignold Poole, after Cardinall, and John, Byshopp of Exeter, so liked her epistles, that they could hardly be persuaded that such learning could be found in that sex, as there they found. Sir Thomas answered the Byshopps, that he could assure them that they were her owne doings, without any helpe. The next day Sir Thomas sent to her from Court to write another Epistle of a theame that one of the Byshopps sent her. The next day she returned her letter, and thereby contented so much the Byshopps, that they gave her great praise and commendations; and one of them sent her a portigue[a] in token of his good liking. Yet for all this, she was of that modestie, and rare humilitie, that she misliked to hear herself praised for anie qualitie. She thought so lowlie of her own witt

[a] *A portigue.*] A Portugal piece: "nummum aureum Portugalensem." Stapletoni *Tres Thomæ*, p. 242.

and

and learning, that she was ashamed to have anie man to see her workes. This mind of hers greatlie pleased her Father.

Seeing we have said so much of the Wife, it will not be amiss to enterlace somewhat of the husbande; who when he married her was a zealous Protestant; and withall liked so well of himself, and his divine learning, that he took the bridle in the teeth, and ran forthe like a head strong horse, and could not be pulled back againe by anie means. Neither was he contented to whisper it in *hugger muggar*, but thirsted verie sore to divulge his doctrine to the worlde, and thought himself able to defend it against any; so he much longed to be pulpitted. His zeal was so great in Luther's new Religion, he could have been contented, so that he might have satisfied his madd affection, to have forgone a good portion of his lands, which by inheritance were fair and ample; for his Father was the King's Attorney-generall, and had procured for him the Protonotaries office of the King's Bench, which hitherto hath continued in his name. At this time some of this new sect had taken such an itch of preaching, that they could hardly charm their tongues: yet for feare, making with their lipps a shew of the Catholick faith, they contained themselves whilest their heresie lay festering in the bottom of their hearts, only upon hope as they afterwards confessed, that the time would serve them better to preach openlie. His fall into Heresie, as he afterwards would often say, did first growe of a scruple of his owne conscience, for lacke of grace and better understanding. For he daylie did use immoderate fastinge and manie prayers; which if discretion and counsaile had prescribed, it had been well; but using them of his owne head, without order and good considera-

tion, thinking God never to be pleased therewith, he did wearie himself *usque ad tedium*, even unto lothsomeness thereof. Then did he understand of certaine books of Frier Luther's; and as Eve, of a curious mind to knowe good and bad, so he, for the strangeness and pleasantness of the doctrine, had a desire to read some of the bookes. He happened of one entituled *De Libertate Christiana*, and on another *De Captivitate Babilonica*, two venemous and pestilent bookes. He was so infected with the poison of them, that he believed everie thing that Luther said to be most true: and thus through his owne pride, ignorance, and corrupt affection, Luther's falfe allegations, sophisticall reasonings, and doubtfull arguinge, he was pitifullie deceived; and was fullie of that opinion *that onlie Faith doth justifie*, and that good workes do nothing profitt; and that if a man would once believe that Christ died for him, it was enough: then that all the ceremonies, rites, and sacraments, used in the Church of God, were vaine and superstitious. And so farr he waded in these heresies, that he wished he might be suffered publicklie to preach; thinking, as we have said, that he should be better able to edifie the people, then the best Doctor that comes to Powles Crosse. And thus for his open talk, and companing with divers Merchaunts of the Stillyarde, and others, suspected of heresie, he was conveuted before Cardinall Wolsey. The Merchaunts abjured at Powles Crosse; yet Maister Roper, for some respect the Cardinall bore to Sir Thomas, his Father-in-lawe, was after a friendlie warning, quietlie discharged for that tyme.

Albeit Maister Roper married Sir Thomas his eldest Daughter, yet of all men in the worlde, at that time he least loved hym; yea in his heart abhorred him. And no mervaile, for Luther's easie, shorte,

shorte, and licentious doctrine, had cast him to so sweet a sleep, that he gave over his fastinge, his prayers, and loathed both good bookes and good folkes, and gott himself forsooth a Lutheran Bible, wherein upon the Holidays, instead of his prayers, he spent his whole time, thinking it sufficient to gett a little knowledge, to be able amongst the ignorant persons to babble and talke, as though he had been a great Doctor. Thus he continued some yeares, and could not be recovered by anie means. Upon a time Sir Thomas talking with his Daughter Margaret, said unto her in this sorte, "Megg I have borne a long time with thy husbande. I have reasoned and argued with him, and still given him my poor fatherlie counsaile; but I perceave none of all this can call hym home againe. And therefore Megg, I will no longer dispute with him; nor yet will I give him over, but I will another way to worke, and gett me to God, and pray for him." And presentlie upon this, through the great mercie of God, and the devoute prayer of his Father in lawe, he perceaved his owne ignorance, malice, and follie, and returned again to the Catholic faith. And so firmly he was rooted and fixed in it, that he continued verie resolute and constant unto his life's end, and left it as an inheritance to his house and Children; and was afterwards a singular helper and patrone to all afflicted Catholicks, and especiallie to such as were in Prison, or otherwise troubled for the defence of the Catholick faith. His ordinarie alms, as yet to be seen in his book of accounts, amounted yearlie to one thousand pounds: his extraordinaries were as much, and sometimes more; sometimes two, three, and four thousand pounds a yeare.

He was, for relieving by his almes a learned man, Maister Beckenshawe, sent to the Tower, in the reign

reign of King Henery the eighth. His charitie and alms were so great to poor and needie Persons, that it were a hard matter to find another of his degree, who might in that respect be compared to him: for he was "*oculus cæco, pes claudo, et pater pauperum*, an eie to the blinde, a foote to the lame, and a Father of the Poore." (Job. c. 29.) This is a goodlie faire president for other of this tyme, being of less witt, vertue, and learning, to teach them to reforme themselves to the Catholick faith, and learne them to retourne from whence they went, and to redeem their sins by almes.

This blessed Couple had a Daughter whose name was Mary: full learned she was in the liberal sciences. First she was married to Master Clark, afterwards shee was married to Master Basset, one of the Privie Chamber in Queen Mary's time; and shee herself was one of the Maides of honour. This Gentlewoman very handsomelie translated the Ecclesiasticall Historie of Eusebius out of Greek into Latin, (and after into English, yet extant, to the shame of the hereticall of Meredith Hanmer) which for that Chrisopherson Bishopp of Lincolne his translation was then famous and extant; her's came not to print. The English may hereafter. She translated the historie of Socrates, Theodoretus, Sozomenus and Evagrius. These of her modestie, they caused to be suppressed. She also translated a treatise of her Grandfather Sir Thomas, made upon the Passion; and so elegantlie, and so eloquentlie hath penned it, that a man would thinke it were originallie written in the English tongue by Sir Thomas himself. Now it remaineth to say something of the rest. Master John More, Sir Thomas his eldest Sonne, was well learned, and verie vertuous. Erasmus dedicated unto him, as to one deserving well of good letters, Aristotle in Greek,

Greek, corrected by him. Symon Grineus dedicated his commentaries on Plato and Proclus in the same language. Margaret Gige, though not one of his naturall children, yet brought up with his other children even from her youth, was furnished with the knowledge of both the Greek and Latin tongues, and had good skill in Phisicke, as by this you may see.

It happened that Sir Thomas, some yeares before his death, had an ague, and had passed two or three fitts. After he had a fitt out of course, so strange and merveilous, that a man would thinke it impossible; for he felt himself at one time bothe hote and colde, throughout all his bodie; and not in one part hote, and in another colde, for that is not strange; but he felt sensiblie and painfullie at one time in one place, both contrarie qualities. He asked the Phisitians how it might be possible. They answered it could not be. Then this little Maide (for then shee was verie younge, yet had read Galen) told Sir Thomas, that there was such a kind of fever; and forthwith she shewed a book of Galen *De differentiis febrium*, where he avoucheth as much. This Gentlewoman, after married Doctor John Clement, famous for his singular skill in Greek, and in Phisicke.

This schole of Sir Thomas More was liked and praysed of great and learned both at home and abroade. Erasmus for the renowne of it, dedicateth to this Schole his Commentaries upon certaine workes. And Ludovicus Vives highly praysed it, and with great reason surelie. If we do consider their great increase in learning, it was rather an Universitie than a private Schole; if their profitt in vertue, a Monasterie, rather than a Courtiers house. And he being such as we have said, his Wife,

Wife, Children and familie could be no other than they were, singularlie learned, and merveilouslie vertuous.

BOOK THE THIRD.

1. HITHERTO we have described Sir Thomas how wise, how eloquent, how learned, how honourable a Judge and Magistrate he was: how loving a husband, how carefull a Father, how sweet a friend, how zealous against Hereticks, and in life how saintly and holy he was. But the chiefest thing, and the most memorable and worthie to be written in letters of gold is this; that Sir Thomas More, for the defence of justice and veritie, most gladlie and willingly offered himself to death. The narration of whose glorious Martyrdome, being a thing of great comfort and edification, it were not meet sleightly or briefly to shut it upp. Therefore we will ripp upp the verie beginninge of this tragedie.

Then first we must speake of Cardinall Wolsey, whose doings I do not willinglie speake of, yet being incident unto our matter, we are forced somewhat to rehearse them. Who though he had some good parts and gifts in him, yet he was of so aspiring and ambitious a nature, fraught with the fruits of pride, disdaine and revenge, that well had it been with him if never he had been borne a man; for by these detestable vices he threw himself headlong

long into utter ruine and shame; corrupted his Prince with enormous vices; caused the death of manie good men; opened the gate to fowle and hideous schisme and heresie; with which sinne our poor Countrie hath been most lamentably overwhelmed. All this, though not intended by him, yet originallie sprange of his wicked and cursed ambitions. For this Cardinall first moved question and doubt concerning the divorce between Ladie Katherine of Spaine, and Henery the eighth King of England. This Katherine was before married to Prince Arthur, elder brother to Henery aforesaid. Arthur, being of a weak and feeble constitution, died presentlie after this marriage; whereupon their wise and prudent Fathers, Henery the seventh of England, and Ferdinando of Spaine, for the good and quiet of both realms, concluded upon a second contract betweene Prince Henery and Katherine. So they made suite to Alexander, then Pope of Rome, for a dispensation: and the impediment being taken away, which was thought then by the whole worlde to be neither against the positive lawe of God or of nature, but only against the lawe of the Church, it was granted by Pope Julius the second. So these two young Princes continued quietlie in marriage, without anie scruple, twentie yeares togeather. This Cardinall I say, was the first actor and incensour of this divorce; and it was upon this occasion, as the Ladie Katherine laid afterwards to his chardge openlie.

He aspired to be invested with the Papall dignity; and made much laboure to that end; and had manie likelihoods to atchieve unto it, both by meaus of the Emperour Charles, and by some Cardinals of Rome, wrought by his indirect meanes for that purpose; so once or twice when the Sea

was

was voide, he mightilie expected to have been Pope. But at last perceaving himself fruſtrated and illuded of that expectation, and that chiefly (which galled him not a little) by the Emperour Charles, who commended to the Cardinalls, Cardinal Adrian, sometimes his scholemaister, who for his learninge, vertue and worthiness, and by the Emperours letters, was elected. So he came from Spaine, where he had the chief government under the Emperour, and entered the Citie of Rome bare footed and bare legged. Wolsey seeing another preferred before him, and himself without hope, waxed wroth, and offended with all, so that he studied by all ways revengement of his grief against the Emperour. Wherefore he, not ignorant of the Kings inconstant and mutable disposition, soon inclined to withdraw his devotion [7] from his owne vertuous and lawfull wife Katherine, Aunt to the Emperour, whom now mortallie he maligned; determined to make the King's light nature an instrument to bring about his ungodlie designments. And for the better-complotting thereof, he would not at the first immediately deale with the King, but sent for Langland Byshopp of Lincoln, then ghostlie Father to the King, and told him, what scruple and doubt he had, concerning the Kings marriage: sayinge, "I feare it is not as it should be: for verie manie learned men hold it unlawful for him to marrie his Brother's wife. And forasmuch as the chardge of the King's Soule lies on your hands, I thinke it but your dutie, to inform his Majestie of the perill and danger he stands in."

[7] *To withdraw his devotion.*] It does not appear, that there is sufficient foundation for these severe imputations against the Cardinal. See his Life by Cavendish, in the preceding volume. p. 428.

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So he never left urging him, till he had won him to give his consent that he would admonish the King to have it debated and discussed amongst the learned; the better to satisfie and quiet the consciences of his faithfull and loving subjects. The King at the first hearing of this, was much amazed, and seemed to be greeved. "What my Lord," (quoth he) "let us take heed what we doo! *Consulta et definita* to call againe into question." Uppon this Langland told the Cardinall, that he would meddle no more in the matter. "What my Lord" (quoth the Cardinall) "shall the breathe of a man make you start one jott from your dutie? Be he Kinge, be he Keasar, you doe what becomes a Priest, a Bishopp. Speake to the Kinge againe. "*Urge, obsecra, opportune, importune:* Move the the matter once more, and I shall be present. Let it not be known that I am thus much acquainted with it; and then will I ridd you of much labour." For Wolsey thought, if once the divorce were sett on foote, to bring it to passe even as he would. So he devised to allure the King to cast his fancie on Lady Elianor Duches of Alonson, Sister to the French King. At this tyme there was great warre between the King of France and the Emperour; if so he could bring to passe this marriage, two wayes he thought it would grieve the Emperour: first by the dishonour and shame done to his aunt, Queen Katherine, causing her to be rejected, as having lived in incest twentie yeares togeather. Again he thought he should mightily back the French King against him, by linking and uniting togeather the strength of England and France. And for this purpose, he persuaded with the King to be sent Ambassadour into France, onlie to entreate and conclude for the perfecting of the aforesaide marriage. Never went anie forth of this realm with more pomp

pomp and glorie, then now this Cardinall did: he meaning thereby to make to hymself the Kings favours, (which alreadie he thoroughly posessed, and ruled as he would), more firme and sure. Yet never was there anie that had less honoure, and worse lucke than he gott by this Ambassage. For it was the Providence, and juſt judgement of God, that that which he intended to the harme of others, should be the occasion of his owne overthrowe. For the King (the Cardinall nothing less expecting), had fallen in love with Ann Bullen, and upon her his heart was so thoroughlie and entirely fixed, that he had contrarie to his speeches to the Cardinall, resolutely determined to marry her. Wherefore there was a Messenger dispatched, with letters to the Cardinall, willing and commanding him, that of other matters he should breake with the French King, but in no cause he should speake a worde of the Marriage. Yet the Cardinall moved it, as being the chief thing to bring his malicious drift to effect. Which Ladie Anne understanding, afterwards never ceased to urge and press the King against him, till he was utterlie overthrowne. The King also was otherwise incensed against him, as hereafter we will declare.

2. Now when this matter was once broched, the King (some thinke at the firſt upon some scruple, others were of opinion, he was never of so tender a conscience, but for some other respects) opened the matter with the first to Sir Thomas More, whose counsaile he required therein, shewing him certaine places of Scripture that might seem somewhat to serve for his appetite. Which when he had perused, as one not professing the studie of Divinitie, he excused himself to be unmeet anie way to meddle with such matters. The King not satisfied with this answer, so sore pressed upon him, that in fine he

he condescended to his Grace's motion. And forasmuch as the cause was of such importance as needed great deliberation and advice, he besought his Majestie of sufficient respite advisedlie to ponder and consider thereon. With that the King was well contented. "Aye marrie," (quoth the King) "thou saiest well: consult with Tunstall and Clerk (Bishopps of Durham and Bath), and Maister Doctor Nicholas the Italian Frier, and with other of my Counsell; for I have commended the matter to the wisest of them all." So Sir Thomas departing conferred these places of Scripture, with the exposition of divers of the old Doctors, and at his next coming to the Court, talking to the King of the aforesaide matter, said in this sorte. "Might it please your Grace to give me leave to speake. My opinion is, that neither my Lord of Durham, nor my Lord of Bathe, though I know them both to be vertuous, wise, and learned men; nor myself, with the rest of your Counsell, being all your Grace's owne Servants, for your manyfold benefitts bestowed upon us most bounden unto you; be not in my judgement meet Counsellors herein, as being subject to be suspected, either for favour or feare to utter their mindes. But if your Grace mind to understand the truth, such Counsellors may be devised, that neither for respect of their owne worldlie commoditie, nor for feare of your Princelie authority, will be inclined to deceave you, or can justly be thought partiall. And such they be, as their verie names are to reverenced; to witt Saint Austine, Saint Ambrose, Saint Jherome, Saint Chrisostome, Saint Basill, and divers others, old holy Doctours, both of the Greek and Latin Churche." And there withall he delivered to his Majestie certaine places, that he had gathered out of these Fathers for the deciding of the present question. This

was

was not much agreeable to the Kings humour, yet thenn he seemed to like them: for Sir Thomas in his communication with the King most discretelie behaved himself, and so wiselie tempered his speech, that at that time the King took all in good part; and oftentimes had conference with him againe about the same matter.

3. After this, amongst the Counsell it was debated at Hampton Court, and at York Place, whether the King in this case needed to have scruple at all, and if he had, what way were best to be taken to deliver him of it. The most part were of opinion, that there was good cause of scruple: for the dischardge whereof, meet they thought, that suit should be made to the Sea of Rome. This greatlie misliked not the King, for there he hoped by money and other indirect meanes to obtaine his purpose; wherein, as afterwards appeared, he was sore deceaved.

Presentlie upon this, Sir Thomas More with Bishopp Tunstall, were sent beyond the Seas for certaine affairs of the Kings. Then was suite made to Rome; and for further triall of the matter, a commission was procured in which Cardinall Campagius and Cardinall Wolsey were joined Commissioners; who for the determination hereof sat at the Blackfriers in London; where a bill was exhibited for the anulling of the saide marriage, alledging that it was unlawfull. But for the proofe of the marriage, there was brought forth a dispensation; for then it was holden of all to be onlie against the positive lawes of the Church. So there was brought forth a dispensation, and great disputation was holden to prove the said Bull by lawe to be insufficient as being *surreptitium*; for concealing some particularities, that in the first demand of it had much encreased the difficultie in the graunte.

For

For it was saide, that in the Bull of dispensation graunting license to King Henry to marrie Ladie Katherine, it was not particularlie specified, whether Arthur, King Heneries brother, did carnallie know Katherine or no. So then appeared the saide an imperfection. But to prevent this cavill, the two Kings of Spaine and England procured another brief from the Pope, in the which, for more abundant cautele, it was distinctly sett downe, that notwithstanding anie carnall copulation, if anie such were betwixt the said Arthur and Katherine, the marriage should be good and available. Search was made for this brief, and it was found in the Treasurie of Spaine; and so with speed it was sent to the commissioners into England; and judgement should accordingly have been given by the Pope (not by the Legate) he reserving this to himself. But the King, upon intelligence thereon, appealed as his last refuge to the next Generall Councell. After which appellation, the Legates sat no more. But before the matter passed thus farr, Sir Thomas having concluded a most honourable peace betweene his Highness the French King and the Emperour, retourned into England, and repaired to the King; where the King broke this matter againe unto him, and showed him that his marriage was not onelie against the positive Lawes of the Church, and the written word of God both in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, but allso in such sorte against the Lawe of Nature, that by no wise it could by the Church be dispensed withall: and incontinentlie laid open the Bible before hym, and there red such wordes, as moved him and other learned persons so to thinke. But when he asked Sir Thomas More what he thought upon those wordes, and perceaving his mind not correspondent to his; he willed him

to

to confer with Master Fox his Almoner, and to read a book with him, which was then in making in defence of the unlawfulness of the marriage.

4. It happened that the King was merveilously displeased with the Cardinall Wolsey for the long delay he made in the matter, as thinking him that either he had changed his mind, or misliked the whole matter; or at least to be nothing so forward and conformable to his mind, as he looked for at his hands, and as at other times he had found him. So his Highness displaced him of his office of Chancellourship, and within a while after, albeit he was taken and receaved as a Legate from the ninth year of the Kings reign, as well by the whole realme as by the King himself: and as it was thought the office was procured for the Cardinall not without the King's speciall help and mediation; yet besides manie other great and heynous offences, it was laid to his chardge by the Kings learned Councell, the practise, and excercises of that office, without the Kings speciall license in writing, as a most greevous offence, and so that he was fallne into a *premunire*, by vertue of a statute made in the time of Richard the second: and the whole Clergie of England, for acknowledging the same Legatine authority was thought worthie to be punished in like manner. So the Province of Canterburie, to recover the Kings favour and grace was fined to pay an hundred thousand pounds. The like contribution for the Rate the Province of Yorke was fain to defray. I say for this matter, and for the hatred that the Ladie Anne Bullen bore to the Cardinall, for moving the aforesaid marriage with the French King's Sister; and also by means of Doctor Stokesly Bishopp of London, whom the Cardinall not long before in the Star Chamber openlie put to rebuke, and after sent to the Fleet, the

the Cardinall was out of the Kings favour; and colourable devices were daily sought and urged to bring him to publicke triall. Articles were drawn against him, presented to the King, and followed by mighty men. So Wolsey in his Diocese of Yorke, whereunto (spoiled of his other livings) he betooke himself, was arrested of High Treason by the Earl of Northumberland, and other of the Kings Privie Chamber; and sent for up to London, there to make his answer to such accusations as should be laid against him. But the many sorrowes and greefes receaved of these troubles, with fear of worse event, did so deeplie sinke into his harte, that it cut off part of his jorney, and his life with all, not without some suspicion of poisoning himself[s]. So in his way to London at Leicester he died in the Abbey. Others denie this poysoning: but this was the end of him, who was the first and principall instrument of this divorce. *Malum consilium consultori pessimum:* he was the first that smarted for this matter.

In this place Sir Thomas More was elected: who was thought the rather to have had this office given him, that he might be induced thereby the sooner to condescend to the King's request; who eftsoons repeated, that no dispensation (the effect being directlie against the Lawe of God) could make it

[s] *Suspicion of poisoning himself.*] It is observable, that no mention of this circumstance of poisoning is made by Harpsfield, from whom the substance of this account is taken. He says merely, "that the many sorrowes and griefs that he had conceaved of these his troubles, with further feare of other grievous event, had so deepely suncke into his harte, that it cut off a great parte of his journey, and life withall. And this ende fell upon him, that was the first and principall of this unhappie divorce." Lambeth MSS. No. 827. fol. 15. Compare Vol. I. *Life of Wolsey*, p. 535.

good. So he willed him againe to confer with Byshopp Stokesley, "who in that point," said the King, "can fullie satisfie you." Yet for all this conference he could by no means be persuaded to change his minde. Notwithstanding the Byshopp shewed himself to the King's Highness verie favourable in his relation, and said he found Sir Thomas, in his Graces cause, verie desirous to find some matter wherewith he might serve his turn to his contentation. Yet this man was but too forwarde in the behalfe of the King, for all his gentle reporte: but this he did in respect of the love he bare to Sir Thomas, in delivering this qualified answer to the Kinge.

5. The Kinge being more desirous to winn Sir Thomas to assent, then one half of his realme, presentlie after his entering into this office, he moved him againe and againe to consider of this his great matter. Sir Thomas falling downe upon his knees, humblie besought his Highness to stand his gratious Lord, as heretofore he had found him; saing that there was nothing in the Worlde, that had been so grievous unto his hart, as to remember that he was not able, as willinglie he would, yea with the losse of his limbs, to findé anie thinge in this matter, whereby he might with safetie of conscience serve his Graces contendation. "For well I bear in minde" (quoth Sir Thomas) "those most godlie wordes, that your Highnes spake to me, at my first entering into your noble service; that first I should attend and looke to God and his honour; and then to yourself. And so hitherto, in good faith, I have done; or ells might your Grace account me a most ungratious and unworthy servant." To this the King answered, "If you cannot herein, with the safetie of your conscience serve us, we will be content to accept of your service otherwise; and

and use the advise in this matter of my other learned Counsell, whose consciences I well wott can agree hereunto. And yet I thinke, you will not condemn them of a large conscience, you taking them for good and vertuous men. Well, Sir Thomas, I shall continue my favour towards you, and never hereafter more trouble youre conscience with this matter."

After all this, the King being fullie determined to proceed in the marriage with Queen Anne, called a Parliament for that purpose; where, for the furtherance of the marriage, Sir Thomas was commanded by the Kinge to goo into the Lower House, there to shew unto them what the Universities, as well for the parts beyond the seas, as of Oxforde and Cambridge, had done in that behalfe; and theire publicke seales testyfying their dislike of the former marriage. All this at the Kings request he opened unto them; neither adding nor detracting of that which he was commanded to utter; and not showing of what minde he was himself therein. And so much Sir Thomas condescended unto, for the satifying of the Kings mind as he could: first he red that which served for the deciding of the matter; then he diligentlie conferred with whom he was appointed; and after these speeches above rehearsed of the King, he gladlie red all the books that were made for the marriage of Queen Anne: and of the other part, he would neither read, nor suffer any booke to lie by him, whether they were made in England or beyond the seas; nor would willinglie talk with anie that favoured Queen Katherines part, more than was of necessitie or dutie; nor would give ear to the Popes proceedings in the matter. For having once settled his owne mind in quiet, he shewed himself so conformable as any reasonable man in such a case could thinke meet

and convenient: insomuch that those that favoured most of the Kings proceedings, would alwaies say and averre, that there was no obstinacie or lacke of good will, that Sir Thomas did not change his mind according to the Kings desire. By chance he found a booke in his studie amongst other papers, that the Byshopp of Bath made, in that time when the Legates satt for the defence of the first marriage; he caused it presentlie to be burnt, and would neither write, nor hear any to dispute of this matter in his presence.

6. All the time that Sir Thomas was Chauncellour, this matter of the divorce lay in doubt. Now after two yeares and a half (for so long he continued in that office; for the twentie sixth of October he was admitted to it, in the yeare 1529; and on the fifteenth day of May in the yeare 1532 he was dismissed), seeing still the King was resolutelie bent to proceed in this new marriage, yea though it were with the dislike of the Apostolicall Sea, so doubting lest further things would be demanded of him, by reason of his office, than might stand with his conscience, he made suite to the Duke of Norfolk, his singular good friend, to be a meane to the King that he might with his Graces favour be discharged of his Chauncellourship, pretending other colourable, yet true and probable reasons why he demanded it; and at the length having this gratiouslie granted him, he purposed not to meddle further with Prince's affaires, nor with anie other worldlie matter; but especiallie and chieflie not with this cumbersome question of the marriage. So he determined to spend the residue of his life in meditating of Heaven, and heavenlie things; and that he might the more quietlie settle himself thereunto, placed all his Gentlemen, and Yeomen with Byshopps and Noblemen his friends. His

Barge

Barge and Watermen he gave to the Lord Audley of Walden, who succeeded him in his office. He put from his table Pattison his foole, whom he sent home to his father. He disposed of all his lands, in manner as before is saide; most part of his moveables, especiallie his plate and jewells, reserving only his chaine of gold for hymself, and his Wife's golden beads, as he himself merrilie saith, he sold, and gave away, and made thereof well nighe to the value of two hundred pounds: part of this he distributed to the Poor, part to his Children; so tooke himself to his House at Chelsea, and lived a very private and solitarie life, tending to no other thinge, as being now ridd of all worldlie combers, than to prayers, studie, and writing against Hereticks, who then begann to trouble the world.

Presentlie after the resignment of his office, Thomas Cranmer Archbishopp of Canterbourie having commission sent him to define and determine of the King's marriage, pronounced in open Consistory at St. Albans sentence definitive against the marriage of Queen Katherine, and declared the same to be of no force and validity. And withall by act of Parliament, the King, pretending that he could find no justice at the Sea of Rome, disanulled the authority of the Pope in this realme. Then Sir Thomas was much laid unto to hold with the King; but being perseverant in his former constancie, every day some quarrelling matter or other was pickt against him. First they begann to examine his life; how in his office he had behaved himself; wherein he was found to be most just and innocent, so nothing could be fastened against him. Though some things were objected by Pernell, and divers others, yet when matters came to be examined, all made for Sir Thomas his integritie and cleerness from all corruption and bribery. It was reported he

he was a busie bodie; that he was about the making and devising, and meant to publish in print, an Answer to certaine Articles, put forth by the authority of the King and the Counsell; wherein he was most guiltless; and so upon his oath purged himselt by his letter, sent to Sir Thomas Cromwell, one of the Kings privie counsell.

7. Amongst other quarrells, this was the most grevous and dangerous that was sought agaynst him: by reason of a Nunn dwelling in Canterbury, for her vertue and holiness not a little esteemed amongst the people; unto whom, for that cause, manie religious persons, Doctors of Divinitie, and divers others of good worship and credit used to resort. She affirmed, that she had revelations from God to give the King warning of his wicked life, and of the abuse of the sword and authority committed to his charge by God. And she, understanding my Lord of Rochester John Fisher, her ordinarie, to be a man of virtuous living, and learned, repaired to him, and disclosed all her revelations, desiring his advice and counsaile therein. Which the Byshopp perceiving right well might stand with the lawes of God's Holie Church, willed her to repaire to the King herself; and to lett him understand the whole circumstances. Whereupon she went to the King, and told him all the Revelations; and so retourned home againe. Shortlie after she made a voyage to the Nuns of Sion, by means of Master Reignolds, a father of that House; where talking of such secrets as had been revealed unto her, she happened to touch the King's supremacie, and his marriage with Anne Bullen, which shortlie after followed. This father brought her to Sir Thomas More, who notwithstanding he might at that time without any danger of any lawe, freelie and safelie have talked with her;

her; in all the communication between them he demeaned himself[9] so discretely, that even in the judgement of his enemies, he was sure from all blame, and sinistre suspition. Yet notwithstanding at the next Parliament following, there was put into the Lower House a Bill to attaint the said Anne, and divers other persons of High Treason; and the Bishopp of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, with some others, of misprision of Treason. This the King supposed would of all likelihood cause him to relent and condescend to his request; but therein he was much deceaved.

Sir Thomas was a suitor to be personallie receaved in his owne defence, to make answer to the bill. But the King not liking that, assigned the Bishopp of Canterburie, the Lord Chauncellour, the Duke of Norfolk, and Master Cromwell, at a day and place appointed to call Sir Thomas before them. At which time Master William Roper, thinking that then he should have good opportunitie, earnestlie advised him to be discharged out of the Parliament bill. At his coming before them according to their appointment, they entertained him verie friendlie, willing him to sit downe with them; which in no wise he would. Then begann the Lord Chauncellour to declare unto him, what benefitts and ho-

[9] *He demeaned himself.*] Sir Thomas, in a long letter to Secretary Cromwell, gave a full account of the interview which he had with this Nun, and of all that he knew, or had ever heard respecting her. This Letter is not printed with the others in the collection of his Works, though it is contained in the manuscript from which that edition was published. His judgment there being unfavourable to the Nun, who in the reign of Q. Mary was set up as a Prophetess, a Saint, and a Martyr, it is very likely that the letter was omitted by design. It is preserved however, in Bishop Burnets *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. II. p. 257—263. Records. Edit. 1715.

nours

nours the King had bestowed upon him, and how he could ask nothing at his hands, but it was graunted. He hoped by this declaration of his kindness and affection towards him, to provoke Sir Thomas to recompense his Grace with the like againe, and to give consent unto those things that had bene enacted by the authority of the Parliament. To this Sir Thomas More mildly made answer saying, "No man there is my Lord, that would with better will doo the thing that might be acceptable to the Kings Highness then I, who must needs confesse his manifolde goodnes and bountie most benignlie bestowed upon me. Howbeit, I verily hoped I should never have heard of this matter, which now you have propounded unto me, considering I have from tyme to tyme, from the beginning, most plainly and truly delivered my mind unto his Grace; which his Highness, like a most gratious Prince, ever seemed to take in good gree, promising never to molest me more therein; since which time I could never finde any thing that might cause me to change my minde: which if I could, no man would be more glad of than I." Many more things were uttered of like sort of both sides; but in the end, when they sawe, by no means of persuasion they could bring him from his former resolution, then they begann to deal with him in a more rougher sort, telling him that the Kings Highness had given them in speciall commandement, that if by no gentleness they could winn him, then in his name to charge him with his great ingratitude. "For never was there," said the Chauncellour, "servant to his Soveraigne so villanous, nor Subject to his Prince so trayterous, as he; for he had by his subteltie and sleight conveiance, most unnaturallie caused his Majestie to his great dishonour, to put a sword in his enemie

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the Pope his hands, to fight against himself, by inducing him to make a book for the maintenance of the Popes authority, and the Seven Sacraments." With that they laid forth all the terrours they could imagine. "My Lord" (quoth Sir Thomas) "terrours and freights be arguments for Children and fooles, and not for men. But to answer that wherewith you chieflie burden me; I beleeve the Kings Highnes of his honour will never lay it to my chardge, for there is none that can in that point say more for my excuse than himself; who right well knoweth, that I was never procuror nor counsellor thereunto; but after the book was finished, by his Graces commandment, I was onlie a sorter out and placer of principall matters in the same contained. Wherein when I found the Popes authority highly advanced, and with many good reasons mightily defended, I said unto his Grace, "I must put your Grace in mind of one thing, and that is this: the Pope, as your Grace knoweth, is a great Prince, as you are. It may hereafter so fall out, that your Grace and he may varie upon some points; whereupon may grow breach of amitie, and warre between you both. I thinke it therefore best, in my simple judgement, that this place be mended, and his authority more slenderly touched." "Nay" (quoth his Grace), that shall not be. Wee and all Christians are so much bound to the Sea of Rome, that we cannot do it too much honour." Then did I put him in minde of a statute of *premunire*, made in the time of Richard the Second, by which a part of the Popes Pastorall Cure here in England was pared away. To that his Highness answered, "Whatsoever impediment be to the contrarie, we will sett forth, for our parts, his authority to the utmost as it deserved: for from that Sea we first received our faith, and after our Imperiall

periall Crown and Scepter," which till his Grace with his owne mouth told me, I never heard of before; so that I trust that when his Grace shall call to remembrance my doing in this present behalf, his Grace will never speake more of it, but cleere me throughlie herein."

And thus displeasantlie for that time they departed, never moving to him the matter of the Nunn, or the Bill which was to be put up against him.

8. Going to his house from the Commissioners, he was verie merrie and pleasant by the way; whereat Master Roper was in good hopes he had got himself discharged out of the Parliament Bill. So walking in his garden Master Roper came to him, and verie desirous to know how he had spedd, said to him, "Sir, I hope all is well, because you are so merrie." "It is so indeed, Sonne Roper" (quoth Sir Thomas): "I thank God for it." "Are you then out of the Bill (quoth Master Roper)?" "By my troth Sonne, I never remembered it" (said Sir Thomas More). "Never remembered it" (quoth Master Roper)? "Seeing it is a thing that toucheth you so neare, and us all, I am verie sorrie to hear it; for I verilie thought when I saw you so merrie, that all had been well." Then said Sir Thomas, "Will you know, Sonne Roper, why I was so merrie?" "That would I gladly (quoth he)." "In faith I rejoiced," said Sir Thomas, "that I have given the Devill a foul fall: because I have gone so farr with these Lords, that without great shame I cannot goe back againe." At which words Master Roper was verie sadd; but at his request he wrote a letter to Master Cromwell, and another to the King concerning this matter of the Nunne, which I will here set downe.

To

To Master Thomas Cromwell, one of his Majestie's Privie Councill, Sir Thomas More, Knight.

"Right worshipfull! after heartie commendations. So it is that I am informed, that there is a Bill putt up againste me into the Higher House before the Lords, concerning my communication with the nunne of Canterburie, and my writing unto her; whereof I not a little mervaile, the truth of the matter being such as God and I know, and as I have plainely declared unto you, by my former letters; wherein I found you then so good, that I am now bold, upon the same goodness, to desire you to shew me the favoure, that I might by your meanes have a copie of my Bill, which seene, if I find anie untrue surmise therein, I may make my humble suite unto the King's good Grace, to declare the truth either to his Grace, or by his Graces commandment to anie whom he shall please: for I am so clear herein, that I nothing mistrust his Grace's favoure towards me, nor the judgement of anie honest man. Never shall there anie losse in this matter greve me, being myself so innocent, as God and I knowe, by the grace of Almightie God; who both bodily and ghostlie preserve you!

At Chelsey Ann. 1533, March. By the hand of heartilie all your owne.

Thomas More, Knight."

A Letter of Sir Thomas More to the King.

"It may like your Highness to call to your gratious remembrance, at such tyme as of your great and weighty roome of Chauncellourshipp (unto the which, farr above my merites, your Highness

Highness of your incomparable goodness, exalted me), you were so good and gratious unto me, as, at my humble suite, to disburden me, giving me licence, with your gratious favoure, to bestow the residew of my life to come, about the provision of my soule, in the service of God. It pleased your Highnes further, that for the service I had done, that in anie suite I should have hereafter to your Grace, that either should concerne mine honour or appertaine to my profit (for these verie words it liked your Highnes to use to me), I should find your Highnes my good and gratious Lord. So it is now, gratious Soveraigne, that worldlie honoure is the thing whereof I have resigned both the posession, and the desire, in the surrender of your honourable office; and as for worldlie profitt, I trust experience proveth, and daylie more and more shall prove that I was never verie greedie thereof. But now is my most humble suite to your excellent Highnes, to beseech it somewhat to tender my poor honestie: howbeit, principallie, that of your accustomed goodness, no sinister information can otherwise move your noble Grace to have anie mistrust of my troth and devotion towards your Majestie, than I have or shall give just cause, which I hope there is none. For in this matter of the nunne of Canterburie, I have unto your trustie Counsellour Master Thomas Cromwell, by my writing as plainely declared the truth as possiblie I can; which my declaration is made known as I understande to your noble Grace. Of all my dealings with the nunne, whether any other man may peradventure put any doubt or move any scruple of any other meaning than I had, that can I neither tell, nor lieth in my hand to lett: but unto myself it is not possible anie part of my demeanour to seem evill; the clereness of my conscience testifying,

tifying, that in that matter, my mynde, intent, and proceeding, was lawefull and good. Wherefore most gratious Soveraign, I neither will, nor yet can well become me with your Highness to reason or argue the matter; but in most humble manner prostrate at your Graces feet, I beseech your Majestie, with your owne highe prudence and accustomed goodness, consider and weigh the matter. And if that in your so doing, your owne vertuous mynde shall give you, that notwithstanding your manifold goodness, that your Highnes hath used towards me, that I have most unnaturallie and ungratefullie digressed from my bounden dutie of allegiance towards your Majestie; then desire I no further favoure at your Grace's hands, than the losse of all I may. Let me loose goods, lands, libertie, and finallie my life. Howbeit, if in the considering my cause, your high wisdome, and gratious goodness shall perceave, that I have not otherwise demeaned myself, than may well stand with my bounden dutie and faithfullness towards your royall Majestie; then in most humble manner I beseech your noble Grace, that the knowledge of your true gratious persuasion in that behalf, may releeve the torment of my present heaviness conceaved of the dread and feare, (by that I heare of a greevous Bill, put upp by your learned Counsell unto your High Court of Parliament against me), lest your Grace might by some sinister information be moved to thinke the contrarie. Which if your Highness doe not (as I trust in God, and your great goodness, the matter by your wisdome well examined, you will not) then in most humble manner I beseech your Highness further, sith your Highnes hath here before of your mere abundant goodness, heaped on me both worshipp and honoure; and sith now I have left of all such

things,

things, and nothing seeke or desire, but the life to come, and to pray for your Grace the while, that it may like your Highnes of your accustomed benignitie somewhat to tender my poor honestie, and never to suffer any man, by meane of such a Bill, to take occasion against the truth to slander me; although this by the perill of their owne soules would doe them more hurt then me: for I sett my hart to depend upon the comfort of the truthe, and the hope of Heaven, and not upon the failable opinion of some changeable persons. And thus most dread and deare soveraign Lord, I beseech the blessed Trinity to preserve your noble Grace, both bodie and soule, and all that are your well willers, and amend the contrarie; among whom, if ever I be, or ever have bene one, then I pray God that he may with my open shame and destruction declare it!"

Notwithstanding this letter, and the report made by the Chauncellour in the favour of Sir Thomas, the King was so highlie offended, that he plainlie told the Lords of his Counsell, that he was fullie determined that the foresaid Parliament Bill should undoubtedly proceed against Sir Thomas. To whome they returned this answer; "We know for certaine, that the Lords of the Upper House are resolutely bent to heare him make answer in his owne defence; so if he be not put out of the Bill, it will without fail be an overthrowe to great matters." Yet needs would the King have his owne will, and said that at the passing thereof he would be personally present himself.

Then the Lord Audley, seeing him so vehemently sett thereupon, on his knees most humbly besought his Grace to forbeare this same; considering that if he should there in his owne presence, receave

receave any overthrowe, it would not only encourage his subjects ever after to contemn him, and indare them to attempt the like or greater matters; but also throughout all Christendome redound to his dishonour for ever. They added that they nothing mistrusted but in time to find some other matter against him, more fit to serve his turn than this; for in this case of the Nunne all the Lords there affirmed he was of all men accounted so innocent and clere, that he deserved rather praise then reproach. Whereupon, at length through their earnest persuasions, he was content to condescend to their petition.

The next day after this, Master Cromwell, meeting with Master William Roper in the Parliament House, willed him to tell his Father that he was out of the Parliament Bill. Whereof when Sir Thomas was informed, "Well" (quoth he) "*quod defertur, non aufertur*, delay is no payment." And indeed so afterwards he behaved himself, as though he had knowne what afterwards happened. And the better to encourage his wife and children patiently to accept these expected troubles, and that they might not be dismaied at the suddenness thereof, he caused a pursuivant, unknowne to any of his house, suddenlie at dinner time to knocke at his doores, willing him in the King's name the next day to make his appearance before the Lords of his Councill. This craft he used once or twice; and so cunninglie he applied it, that when it happened indeed, it no more troubled them, than when it was fained. *Spicula prævisa minus lædunt*, foreseene harms, less hurt.

After this, the Duke of Norfolke and Sir Thomas chanced to fall into familiar talke togeather. The Duke said unto him, "by the Masse, Sir Thomas, it is perilous striving with Princes; and therefore

therefore I would wish you somewhat to encline to the King's pleasure: for *Indignatio Principis mors est.*" (Prov. 6. 16.) "Well my Lord," (quoth Sir Thomas), "my account is cast: but is this all? Then is there no more difference between your Grace and me, but that I shall dye to day, and you tomorrow; but what kinde of death, it skilleth not. My Lord I say I feare not to dye, because I serve a good Maister."

9. Within a month or thereabout, after the making of the Statute for the oath of the supremacie, there was a great appearance of the Clergie to have the oath tendered, before certaine commissioners appointed for that end. No Layman was then to appear, but onlie Sir Thomas, who on Palme Sunday, being at London to heare the Sermon at Pawles Crosse, at Master Clements house, was summoned to appear before the Lords at Lambeth. Presentlie he returned home; went to the Church; was confessed; spent most part of the night in prayer; earlie in the morning was housled; and for other matters had little care. When he departed from his house, he kissed his wife and children, and bade them farewell; and desired them to pray for him, saying "he would doe the like for them." He would not suffer[1] any of them to followe him out of the gate; pulled the wicket after himselfe, and shutt them, and all carnall affection from him; so tooke him to his boate for Lambeth; where sitting with a heavie hart, verie sadd for a while, at last suddenlie he told Master Roper,

[1] *He would not suffer.*] "And whereas he evermore used before, at his departure from his wife and children, whom he tenderly loved, to have them bringe him to his boate, and there to kisse them all, and bidde them farewell, then would he suffer none of them forthe of the gate to followe him." Life by Harpsfield. Lambeth MSS. No. 827.

who

who accompanied him with fower servants, "I thanke our Lorde, the field is wonne." After that he seemed to be verie merrie. What he meant by that, Master Roper then wist not; but it was evident it was no other cause, but that his love to God wrought so effectuallie in him, that he conquered all affection of wife and children. When he came to Lambeth, what there happened none can better tell than himself; which is this that followeth, all most worde for worde in a letter he sent[a] to his daughter Margaret.

"When I was before the Lords at Lambeth, I was the first that was called in, either Priest or Layman, albeit divers were come before me. After the cause of my sending declared unto me, whereof I somewhat mervailed, considering they sent for no temporall man besides myself, I desired a sight of the oath, which they shewed me under the great seal. Then I desired a sight of the act of the succession, which was also delivered me in print: which I red secret by myself, and the oath considered with the act. I shewed unto them, "that my purpose was not to put anie fault, either in the act, or in anie man that made it; or in the oath, or anie man that sweareth to it; nor to condemn the conscience of anie other man; but as for myself, (my conscience so moving me in the matter) though I would not denie to sweare to the succession, yet to the other oath I could not sweare, without the jeoparding of my soule to perpetuall damnation. And that if they doubted, whether I refused the oath of supremacie onelie for the grudge of my conscience, or for anie other fantasie, I was readie herein to satisfie them upon my oath: which if

[a] *A letter he sent.*] See Works of Sir Thomas More, p. 1428.

they trusted not, what should they be better to tender me anie oath? and if they trusted, that I would herein sweare true, then trusted I of their goodness they would not move me to sweare the oath they offered me, seeing that to sweare to it was against my conscience." Unto this my Lord Chauncellour said "that they were verie sorrie to hear me say thus; and see me thus to refuse the oath." And they all affirmed, that on their faith and honours, I was the first man that ever refused it. And this would cause the Kings Highness to conceave great indignation against me. And therewith they shewed me the roll of the names of the Lordes and the Commons that had alreadie sworne and subscribed to it in the Parliament House. When they sawe that I refused to doe the like, I was in conclusion commanded to goe downe to the Garden: but I tarried in the old burned chamber, that looketh downe to the Garden, and would not goe down, because of the heat in that time. I sawe Doctour Latimer, with divers other Doctours and Chaplains of my Lord of Canterburie wayting there. I sawe Latimer verie merrie, for he laughed and tooke one or twaine about the necke so handsomely, that if they had been women I would have weened he had waxed wanton. After that came Maister Doctor Wilson forth from the Lords, and was by two Gentlemen brought by me; and was Gentleman-like sent to the Tower. What time my Lord of Rochester was called in before them, that cannot I tell; but I heard he was called; but where he remained that night, and so to the tyme that hither to the Tower he came, I never heard. I heard also Maister Doctour the Vicar of Croydon, and all the remnant of the Priests of London that were sent for, were sworne. They had such favoure at the Councells

Councells hands, that they were not suffered to dance long attendance to theire great travaile and cost, as suitors are wont to doe, but were sped apace to theire comforts; so farr forth that Maister Vickar of Croydon, for gladness, or for dryness, or ells that it might be sene *quod ille notus erat pontifici*, went to my Lord's butterie barr, and called for drinke, and dranke *valde familiariter*. When they had played their pageant, and were all gone, then was I called in againe: where it was declared unto me, what a number had sworne, even since I went aside, even gladlie, without anie sticking at the matter: wherein I laide no blame in any man, but for my owne part I answered as before. They laide obstinacie to my charge, because in that I refused to sweare, I would not declare anie speciall cause of the oath that greeved my conscience, nor open the cause of my so doing. And thereupon I said unto them, "that I feared lest the Kings Highnes would, as they had saide, take displeasure enough towards me, for that I onlie refused the oathe; and that if I should open and disclose the cause, why I refused to be sworne, I should therewith but further exasperate his Highnes; which I no wise would doe, but rather would abide all that might hap, than give his Grace anie occasion of further displeasure, than the bare refusing of the oath, that pure necessity constrayneth me unto." They reputed this for stubbornness and obstinacie, that I would neither sweare the oath, nor yet declare the causes why I refused it. Rather than I would be accounted obstinate, I granted them thus much; that I would, (upon the Kings gratious licence, or rather commandment, to be my sufficient warrant, that my declaration should not offende his Highnes, nor put me in danger of anie statute, be content in writing to

declare the causes; and over that, to give an oath, that if I might find those causes in such wise answered as I might in my owne conscience be satisfied, I would afterwards sweare the principall oath. To this I was answered, that though the King would give me licence under his letters patent, yet would it not serve against the statute. Whereunto I saide that if I had them, I would stand to the trust of his honour, at my perill for the remnaunt. "And my Lords (quoth I) "seeing to declare the causes is so dangerous, then to leave them undeclared is no obstinacie." The Bishopp of Canterburie taking hold of that which I saide, that I condemned not the consciences of them that swore, said unto me, "that it well appeared that I tooke it not for a certaine and sure thinge, that I might not lawefullie sweare it, but rather as a thinge uncertain and doubtfull. "But then you know" (saith he) "for a certainty, and a thinge without doubt, that you be bound to obey your Soveraign Lord and King; and therefore are you bound to leave off the doubt of your unsure conscience in refusing the oath, and take a sure way in obeying your Prince, and sweare it." Now albeit that in mine owne minde I thought the matter not well concluded, yet this argument upon the suddaine seemed to me so subtle, especiallie being urged by the authority of so noble a Prelate, that I could not answeare thereunto, but onlie, "that I thought that for mine owne part I might not so doe, because that in my conscience I was fullie persuaded, that this was one of the causes in which I was bound that I should not obey my Prince; sith whatsoever other folk thought of the matter, whose consciences and learning I would not condemn and judge, yet in my conscience, the case seemed to be plain, and the oath unlawefull. Wherein, I

said, I had not informed my conscience, neither suddenlie nor sleightlie, but by long leisure and diligent search. And of truth, if that reason may conclude, then have we a readie way to avoide all perplexities. For in whatsoever matter the Doctours stand in great doubt, the King's commandment, given upon whether side he list, solveth all doubts." Then said my Lord of Westminster unto me, "that howsoever the matter seemed to mine owne mind, I had good cause to feare that my minde was eronious, when I see that the Great Councell of the realme determined the contrarie; and therefore I ought to change my conscience." To that I answered, "that if there were no more but myself on my side, and the whole parliament on the other side, I would be sore afraid to followe mine owne opinion against so manie: but on the other side, if it be so, that in some things for which I refuse the oath, I have as I thinke as great a Councell and a greater too, I am not then bound to chaunge my conscience and to conforme it to the Councell of one Realme against a General Councell of all Christendome." Upon this Master Cromwell, my verie good friend, said and swore a great oath, "that he had lever that his owne onlie sonne had lost his head, then that thus I I should have refused the oath: for the King's Highnes will conceave a great suspicion against me, and thinke that the matter of the Nunne of Canturburie was all contrived by my drift." To which I saide, "the contrarie was true, and that it was well knowne; but whatsoever should mishappen, I see it lieth not in my power to remedie it, without the perill of my soule."

"Then my Lord Chauncellour repeated to Master Secretarie, because he was to go to the King's Grace, to enforme his Highnes of my proceedings, and in repeating thereof, his Lordship saide "Master

"Master Secretarie, remember that he is content to sweare to the succession." Whereunto I saide, "As for that point I would be content, so I might see my oath in that point so framed as might stand also with my conscience." Then said my Lorde againe, "Aye marrie Master Secretarie, mark that too; that he will not sweare that neither, but under some certaine manner." "Verily no, my Lord," (quoth I) "but I will see it made in such wise, as I shall see, that I neither be foresworne, nor sweare against my conscience; and so to sweare to the succession I see no great perill: for I thinke it reason, that I looke well to my oath, and be of councell in framing thereof; for I intend not to sweare to a piece, and set my hand to the whole oath. Howbeit (as God help me) I never withdrew anie man from it, or advised anie to refuse it; but leave everie man to his owne conscience: and methinks in good faith, it were great reason that everie man should leave me to mine."

So when they could get no other answere of him, he was committed to the custodie of the Abbott of Westminster, being then Munday the fifteenth of April A. D. 1534. Regni Hen. 8. 28.

10. Sir Thomas remained in durance with the Lord Abbott of Westminster, by the space of fower days, during which time the King consulted with his Councell, what order were best to be taken with him; and albeit they were in the beginning[3] resolved to discharge him upon some lawefull oath, one or other, but they would not have it knowne, whether it were the oath of supremacie or no. This

[3] *They were in the beginning.*] Cranmer interposed in the behalf of Sir Thomas More, and Bishop Fisher, by a humane, temperate, and politic letter addressed to Secretary Cromwell. See Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, p. 28.

had

had passed, had not Queen Anne, with her importunate clamours, so sore exasperated the King against him, that contrarie to his former resolution, he caused the oath of the Supremacie to be ministered unto him. Whereunto though his answere was verie discreet and moderate, he was nevertheless committed to the Tower on Friday the seventeenth of April.

Sir Richard Cromwell [4] had the conveiance of him thitherward. Sir Richard advised him to send home his chaine of gold that he wore about his necke to his wife, or to some child or friend of his. "Nay Sir" (quoth he) "that I will not; for if I were taken in the field with mine enemies, as I am a Knight, I would they should fare somewhat the better for me." At his landing, Master Lieutenant of the Tower was readie at the Tower gate to receive him; who conveyed him to his lodging, where he was allowed to have one of his owne servants to waite upon him; his name was John a Wood; he could neither write nor read; he was sworne if he should see or hear any thing spoken or written against the King, the Councell, or the state of the Realme, he should incontinentlie reveal it to the Lieutenant.

Not long after his coming into the Tower, he wrote certaine letters to his Daughter Margaret, whereof this is one [5].

A Letter of Sir Thomas More to his Daughter Margaret Roper.

"My owne good Daughter, our Lord be thanked I am in good health of bodie, and good quiet of

[4] *Sir Richard Cromwell.*] So also says Roper, p. 82, Lewis's edit. But Harpsfield attributes this to Sir Richard *Southwell;* which I apprehend is the true reading.

[5] *This is one.*] Works of Sir Thomas More, p. 1430.

minde;

minde; and of worldlie things I no more desire than I have. I beseech him make you all merrie in the hope of Heaven. And such things as I somewhat longed to speak unto you, concerning the world to come, our Lord put them in your mind, as I trust he doth, and the better by his holie spirit, who bless you, and preserve you all!

Written with a cole by your tender loveing father, who in his poore praiers forgetteth none of you all, nor your babes, nor your nurses, nor your good husbands, nor your good husbands shrewd wives, nor your Father's shrewd wife neither, nor our other friends. And thus fare you heartily well, for lacke of Paper.

Thomas More, Knight."

" Postscript. Our Lord keep me continuallie faithfull and plaine, to the contrarie whereof I beseech him hartely never to suffer me to live. For as for long liffe (as I have often told thee Megg) I neither look for, nor long for, but am well content, if God call me hence, to good tomorrow. And I thanke our Lord I know no Person living that I would had one phillipp for my sake, of which mind I am more glade then all the world besides. Recommend me to your shrewd Will: and other friends; and to John Harries my friend; and yourself knoweth to whom else: and to my shrewd wife above all. And God preserve you all, and make and keep you his Servants all! farewell."

Within a while, after Sir Thomas had been in Prison, a month's space, or thereabouts, his Daughter Margaret longing to see him, wittiely invented this craft. She wrote a letter and sent it to her Father, wherein she seemed to labour to persuade him to take the oath. She nothing doubted but that the letter would be intercepted; but this she did

did to winne thereby credit with Master Cromwell, so to get libertie to have free access to her Father; which by this sleight she obtained. Others say it was seriouslie written; and so her father tooke it, and thereon did write to her againe[6] accordingly.

11. Mistress Margaret Roper having leave to goo to her Father, often resorted unto him. His custome was before he would talke with her, usuallie to say the Seven psalmes, and the Litanies: he begann and she answered on their knees. At her first coming, it seemed she laboured to persuade with him, that he should not refuse to take the oath, seeing that both wise and learned had subscribed thereunto. To whome Sir Thomas answered, "What Mistress Eve, hath the serpent sett you a worke to tempt your Father? What Daughter, doe you love me so well, that by swearing against my conscience you would send me quicke to the Devill? I have answered you often, that if I might in this matter content the King's Highnes, and not offend God, there is no man that would more gladly take this oath than I. But since I cannot, I must give God thanks for this tribulation, and desire of him to give me patience and strength to endure for his holy name whatsoever in this matter may happen unto me. For Megg, the worst and uttermost that possiblie may befall me, long 'ere this is not unconsidered. And albeit I knowe my owne frailtie full wéll, and the naturall faintness of my hart, yet if I had not trusted that God will give me grace to endure all things, thou mayest be sure I had not come hither." "Father," (quoth she), I will not dispute with you in this matter; for it little beseemeth me: for both your learning

[6] *Did write to her againe*] Works of Sir Thomas More, p. 1431.

and

and conscience is such, that I can neither add to the one, nor may presume to informe the other. Yet I can assure you this much, your conscience in this point, is accounted by men of great skill and reckoning, for a mere scruple. For both wise and learned, and all the Nobles and Peers of the Realme stick not at this matter; onlie yourself and Bishopp Fisher stand out; and I am persuaded good Father, that they that love you best, will not give you counsaile to leane to one man against all other." "I suppose" (quoth Sir Thomas) "that manie both spirituall and temporall thinke my conscience scrupulous, and yet I doo not thinke that every man so thinketh that so speaketh. And though they did, it should not much move me; no though my Lord of Rochester would also sweare. For albeit, Megg, I have him in that reverent estimation, that I reckon no man in this Realme for wisdome, learning, and vertue meet to be compared to him; verilie Daughter, I never intended to pinne my soule to another man's sleeve, not even the best man that I know this day living; for they may for favoure, feare, or other respect goe awrie. For like as if my owne conscience served me, I would not lett to sweare though others refused; so now though others refuse it not, my conscience giving me against it, I dare not doe it. And if I were not so perfectlie resolved in this, I should have cause to feare to leave so manie learned and wise as I doe; but I have not lightlie nor slenderlie, as you know, studied for this matter." "But Father" (quoth she), "they say you may well feare lest you be deceaved in this point, for they may see as much or more in the matter than yourself, and have as great a care not to forsweare as others have. So you ought to conform your conscience to theirs, especiallie you taking them

for such men as they be: and sith (say they) there is a law by the Parliament made commanding so to doe, you are bound to change your conscience." "Marrie Daughter, (quoth he) for the part you play, you play it not amiss: But Margaret, first for that lawe of the land, though everie man being borne and inhabiting therein, is bound to keep it in everie case upon some temporall paine, and in many cases also upon paine of God's displeasure, yet there is no man bound to sweare that everie lawe is well made, nor bound in conscience to perform what he thinketh is unjustlie enacted. Now if such a lawe be made, though some be content to allow it, yet he that thinketh it unlawefull may not sweare it. Well, Daughter Margaret, for what cause I refuse the oath, I will never shew it to anie man, except the King's Highnes will command me: but surelie I refuse it for more causes then one; and such they be as yet never they could be satisfied; and I am sure some of the best learned have affirmed so much, though since I heare, they have sworne to the contrarie: and I know that then they spake as they thought, and laboured then to knowe the truth, as much as could be possible; but how since they be chaunged I knowe not. I misjudge noe man." "That might be Father" (quoth she): for since they might see more in the matter then before." "Well" (quoth he), "I will not dispute that; but this I wote well, I never heard the cause of their chaunge to be anie new thinge, that they had not before well weighed. So to me all things seem as before they did; if to them otherwise, I am the glader for their sakes. But this know; let them thinke, and all others in England as they will, yet have I more on my side then them all, that thinke as I thinke. I meane of men of former ages, and now in other parts of Christen-

Christendome; and Daughter of this I am assured, that the Doctours and Fathers of God's Church, whose bookes are now extant, were of the same minde that now I am. Yet I shewe thee not all that I have for myself in the discharge of my conscience. And for conclusion, I take not upon me to define or dispute of this matter; neither have I written or spoken of things passed in the Parliament; nor judged anie man's conscience for holding contrarie to me; but for mine owne self, I tell thee Megg, for thy comfort, that my conscience in this matter is such, as may well stand with my owne salvation; and hereof I am as sure, as God is in Heaven: and if happilie it fortune me to loose my heade for this, I may have wronge, but no harme."

With that speeche Mistress Roper sat musing, and seemed verie sadd. "What" (quoth he), "where are you? What Mother Eve, are you musing with the serpent in your brest, uppon some new persuasion, once more to offer the apple to Father Adame?" With that quoth she, "Father, I can no further goe. I am come, as Chaucer said of Cressed Dulcarnon, "to my witts ends;" and I see not what can be saide more, unless I should give a woman's reason, "You need not refuse to sweare; I have swórne myself[7], as Master H. Patterson said to me of you, when I met him t'other day." At this Sir Thomas laughed. "But Father" (quoth she) "I feare me this will bring greater troubles to you; for you know what Master Secretarie sent word, that the Parliament was not yet done." "Well" (quoth he) "Megg, I have not left these events unthought on; and if they should

[7] *I have sworne.*] She took the oath, with this condition annexed, "so far as it was agreeable with the law of God." Compare Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, Vol. I. p. 195.

make

make a lawe to doe me harme, by the Grace of God, they shall doe me no hurt: And this is a riddle. A man may lose his head, as I have often told thee, and yet be never a whit the worse. But I hope God will not permit them to do anie thing otherwise to me, then I deserve. But (saith he) there is nothing impossible to happen. I made my account before I fell to build this Castle: and in devising thereon, I spent manie a restless night. with a heavie hart, while my Wife slept, and thought I had slept too." "But Father," (quoth she,) "it is another matter to thinke on a thing that may be, and to see a thing that is, or infallible shall be. For then peradventure, you would thinke otherwise then now you doe; and then peradventure, it will be too late to chaunge. Therefore it were good, if ever you should chaunge, that now you would chaunge." "Well fare thee Daughter, that thou saiest it will be perchance too late. Too late may it be, that ever I should so chaunge! For I wote well, that the chaunge which growes by feare onelie, cannot be good for my soule; and therefore I pray that chaunge may never be. And if so it were, that I wist well now that I should faint, and for feare sweare, yet would I wish to take harm by refusing first, for so should I have greater cause by the grace of God to rise againe. And albeit my lewdness, I wote well, hath been such, that I know myself well worthie that God should let me slipp, yet can I not but trust in his mercifull goodness, that as his grace has strengthened me hytherto, and made me content to be readie to lose goods, lands, and life, rather than offend him by swearing against my conscience, I cannot mistrust the goodnes of God, but that he will tourne the heart of the King, (in whose hands it is) to be gratious unto me: or ells, if it be his pleasure,

pleasure, that for my other sinnes I should suffer trouble in this cause; or that I do not deserve his holie grace, I hope he will give me strength to beare it patientlie, and peradventure gladlie; and it may be in liewe of the paine that I should otherwise suffer in Purgatorie, or over that, for increase of some rewarde in Heaven. Megg, Megg, I serve so good a Lord, I will never mistrust; and this I know well, without my owne fault, he will never let me be lost; and therefore I commit me wholie to him. So my good Daughter, trouble not thy minde with anie thing that shall happen to me in this worlde; for nothing can happen but what God will; and I assure my selfe the worst in the sight of the worlde will be my best. And so my good Child be merrie, and rejoice in our Lord, and commend me to all our friends and kinsfolks, and tell them from me, that I account this my imprisonment, as one of the greatest benefits, that ever I receaved at the King's hands." And thus they departed for that tyme. At theire departure he gave her a letter to all his friends. The Copie is this.

To all my loving Friends.

" Forasmuch as, being in Prison, I cannot tell what need I may have, or what necessity I may hap to stand in, I heartilie beseech you all, that if my well beloved Daughter Margaret Roper (which onelie of all my friends, hath by the King's gratious favoure, license to come to me) doe anie thinge desire of anie of you, of such things as I hap to need, that it may like you to regard and tender it, no less then if I moved it to you, and required it of your person myselfe. I beseech you

all

all to pray for me, and I shall pray for you. Your faithfull Lover, and poore Beedsman.

Thomas More. Knight. Prisoner."

12. After this, Sir Thomas was not so restrained, but that his Daughter, Wife, and some other friends with licence, might repaire unto him. But a little before the enacting of the forethreatend lawe, he was sodenlie shut up, the rather to incline him to the King's pleasure, or that they intended to deale with him most sharply. So there besides the old disease of his breast, he was greeved in his raynes, by reason of the gravell and the stone, with the stumpe, and divers other maladies; all which he did moderate and temperate, with patience, spirituall consolation, and comfort to Heaven-ward. And for all his griefs, and pains, and hard usages he never showed anie token of sorrow or lamenting, but alwaies a sweet and quiet minde fixedlie seated in the uprightness of his cause, and kept his old merrie talke whensoever occasion served. Presentlie after the making of the saide statute, wherein the King was recognised as supreme head of the Church of England under God; and that whosoever should speake againste his saide Supremacie, should be taken as a Traitor, and suffer as in case of High Treason; then Master Cromwell Secretarie, the King's Solicitor, and divers others resorted unto him; and faine would wring somewhat out of his owne mouth, that would make against him.

What particular speech passed between them I will relate out of his letter written to his Daughter Margaret. Anno. 1535. May the third.

"Our

" Our Lord bless you.

My dearelie beloved Daughter, I doubt not but by reason of the Kings Councellors resorting hither in this tyme, in which the Fathers of the Charte House, and some others be judged to death for Treason, may hap to put you in some feare, especiallie for that it is not unlikely, but that you have heard, that I also was brought before them; I thought necessarie to advertise you, to the end that you should not conceave more hope than the matter giveth, or more griefe than the present occasion ministereth. Therefore shall you understand, that on Fridaie last, the thirtieth of April, in the afternoone, Master Lieutenant shewed me that Master Secretarie would speake with me. Whereupon I went out with him into the Gallery; where his Mastershipp sat with Master Attourney and Master Solicitour, with divers others. I was offered to sitt downe with them, but in no wise would."

Master Secretarie told me " that he nothing doubted but that I had seen the new statutes made the last sitting of the Parliament." I answered, " Yea verilie; howbeit for as much as I being here, and not minding to meddle with these matters any more, I thought it little nede for me to bestowe much tyme upon them." He asked me, " whether I had red the first statute of the King's being heade of the Churche." I answered " Yea." Then his Mastershipp declared unto me, " that sith it was now by act of Parliament ordained, that his Highnes and his Heirs, is, and was, and perpetuallie should be supreame head in earth of the Church of England immediatelie under Christ; the King's pleasure was, that those here of his Councell assembled, should demaund my opinion therein." Whereunto I answered, " that in good faith

faith I had well trusted that his Highnes would never have commanded anie such question to be asked of me: considering that I ever from the beginning well and truelie declared my minde to his Majestie, and also unto your Mastership, both by mouth and writing; and now I have discharged my minde from all such matters, meaning not hereafter to dispute Kings' or Popes' titles. I am the King's faithful subject, and will be; and daylie pray for him, and all his realme; and otherwise then this I intend not to meddle." Whereunto Master Secretarie answered, "that he thought that this manner of answere would not satisfie the King's Highness; for that his Grace expected a more full answere, and that to the purpose." And he added, "that the King was a Prince not of rigour, but of mercie and pitie; and though he had found obstinacie in anie of his subjects at some time, yet if they submitted themselves, his Grace would shewe mercie. And for you Master More, I knowe so much, that his Grace would be glad to see you take such conformable waies, that you might be abroad againe, with as great credit and worship as ever you were." Whereunto I answered, "I would not meddle in the worlde againe, to have all the worlde given me," as in effect I answered before.

"Then was I commanded to goe forth awhile; and presently called in againe. Then said Master Secretarie unto me, "Though you are a Prisoner condemned to perpetuall imprisonment, yet thereby I was not discharged of my alleageance to his Highnes." Whereupon he demanded "whether I thought his Highnes might not exact a direct answere from me, of such things as might be demanded, as of anie other." I answered, that I thought his Highnes might. "Then, said he, that like as his Highness would be gratious to them

that he found conformable, so his Grace fullie determined to followe the course of the lawe, towards such as shall show themselves wilfull and obstinate; and your demeanour in this matter, Master More, hath made manie so stiffe therein as they be. Whereunto I answered, "that I gave no man occasion neither by worde nor writing to hold on the one side, or the other. And for conclusion, I would goo no further, whatsoever paine should me befall. For I am the Kings true faithfull subject and bedesman. I doo noe bodie anie harme; I say no harme; I thinke noe harme. I wish everie bodie well; I pray for them; and if this be not enough to keep me alive, in good faith, I desire not to live. I am at the Kings pleasure. I would to God my death would doe him good." "Well Master More," quoth Master Secretarie, "report shall be made to his Highnes; and his gratious pleasure knowne you shall heare further." "So he bare me farewell. And so to my Chamber by Master Lieutenant I was brought againe."

Not long after this, there came againe certaine other of the Privie Councell, and begann afresh to presse him to some plaine and determinate answere, touching his opinion of the lawefullness or unlawefullness of the foresaide statute; and the matter is penned by himself. His words shall shewe his minde, as he sett it downe in a letter to his Daughter Mistress Roper. Anno. 1535.

"Our Lord bless you, and all your's.

"Forasmuch (dearelie beloved Daughter) as it is likely you have hearde that the Councell was here with me, I thinke it necessarie to send you worde, how the matter standeth. And to be short, I see little difference betwixt this time and the last; for as farr as I can see, the whole purpose is either to

to drive me to say preciselie the one waie, or the other. Here sat my Lord of Canterburie, my Lord Chauncellour, my Lord of Suffolk, my Lord of Wilshire, and Master Secretarie. At my coming Master Secretarie made rehearsal in what wise he had reported to the King's Majestie concerning my last days answere, at my being before him. Then he added, the Kings Highnes was nothing content by my answere, but thought I had been by my demeanour occasion of much grudge and harme in this Realme; and that I had an obstinate and evill will towards him; and that it was my dewtie to make a plaine and determinate answere, whether I thought the statute lawefull or no. And that his Majestie had sent them in his name to commande me upon my alleageance to give direct answere yea or noe; and that I should say his Highnes is supreame head of the Church of England, or else utter plainlie my maglignity. Whereunto I answered, "that I had no malignity, and therefore none could utter; and as for the matter, I will give no other answere, than I had before made; and verie sorrie I am that his Highnes should have any such opinion of me. For I am verie sure that I have no such corrupt affection; but have faithfullie observed his vertuous lesson; viz, *first to looke to God, and then to his Highnes.*" Then said my Lord Chauncellour "that the King might by his lawes compell me to make a plaine answeare." "I will not dispute the King's authority in this case; but, I said, that under correction, it seemed to me somewhat harde. For if it were so, that my conscience gave me against the statute; (wherein *how* my conscience giveth me I make no declaration), then I nothing doing, nor nothing sayinge againste the statute, it were a hard thing to compell me to say precisely with it against my conscience

science to the losse of my soule, or preciselie against it to the destruction of my bodie."

To this Master Secretarie said, "that I had, when I was Chauncellour, examined Hereticks, Theeves, and other Malefactors, and that I used (at least the Bishopps doe), to examine Hereticks whether the Pope be head of the Church; and used to compell them to make a precise answere thereunto. And why should not the King compell his subjects to make a precise answere to his lawe, as he did concerning the Pope?" I answered, "I intend not to defend my part: yet there is a great difference between these two cases; because at that time, as well here as ellswhere, the Pope's authority was recognised for an undoubted truth: yet this matter, though here in England it was agreed upon, yet in other places of the worlde the contrarie was taken for truth." Master Secretarie answered "that they were as well burned for the denying of that, as now beheaded for denying of this; and therefore as good reason to compell them to answere directlie, as well to the one, as to the other." I answered, "the lawe of one particular place, or a locall lawe, cannot prejudice the lawe of the whole corps of Christendome. So the reasonableness or unreasonableness in binding a man to make a precise answere, standeth not in respect of difference between heading and hanging, but by reason of the difference in chardge of soule, so the difference standeth between Heaven and Hell." "Well Master More" (quoth one of them) "you will be content to be sworne, to make true answere to such things as shall be asked of you, on the King's behalfe, concerning his owne royall person?" I answered, "I never purposed to take anie oath more while I lived." Then they said, "I was verie obstinate, if I refused that which everie man in the

Starr

Starr Chamber and ellswhere doth." I said, "it was true, taking it as lawe doth understand it, to answere to such matters as they know or guess why they are there present. And I said, I had not so little foresight but that I might conjecture, what should be part of my interrogatories, and as good it was at the first to refuse them, as afterwards." Whereunto my Lord Chauncellour answered, "that though I could guess truelie, yet I should see them:" and so they were shewed me, and they were but twaine. The first *whether I had seen the statute?* the second, *whether I believed it to be a lawefull statute or no?* So I refused the oath, and would make no other answere but this: "If this that I have (confessed) will not suffice, I have no meane to help me, but to comfort myself with the hope of a joyfull day to come, wherein it shall plainelie appear, that I am the King's true and loving subject: and so God's holie will be done come life, come death!" "Nay," (quoth they), "if you are so resolute that you had as leave be out of the world as in it, as you make shew, why do you not then speake plainelie against the statute? so it well appeareth that you are not so well content to die, as you beare the worlde in hand." "The truth is, I have not been a man of so holie life, as I might be bold to offer myself to death, lest God for my presumption, might suffer me to fall; and therefore I put not myself forward, but draw backwarde; howbeit if God shall please to call me to it, then trust I in his mercie, he will give me grace and strength to goe through. Then said Master Secretarie, "he was verie sorrie for me; and said he liked me worse then the last day, for he thought I meant not well." Well God and I knowe that I mean well, and truelie, and so I pray God doe by me! Be you, and other my good friends

friends of good cheer, whatsoever shall befall me; and take no thought for me, but pray for me, I will not fail to pray for you, and all them. Fare you well. *Mense Maii*, A. D. 1535.

Your tender loving Father
Thomas More. Knight."

13. Sir Thomas, in these his severall examinations, so wiselie demeaned himself with meeting the craftie drifts of his adversaries, that they could not entrap him in anie thing; and to the malignity of the time, so that he incurred not the penaltie of any statute just or unjust: for he had neither spoken nor done any thing to his prejudice. And this he did doe, that he might reserve the integritie of a good conscience; nor yet farther exasperate the King's displeasure against him. So reverence to his Prince, and feare to God, managed his actions.

Not long after this, certaine religious men of the order of Saint Bruno, with some other, were condemned of Treason, for denying the King's supremacie; and in the moneth of May and June were hanged and quartered. Sir Thomas looking out of the windowe, chanced to see some of these Carthusians goe towarde their execution. Longing to accompanie them in their journey, he said to his Daughter then standing by him, "Loe dost thou not see Megg, that these blessed Fathers be now as cheerfullie going to their death, as Bridegrooms to their marriage. Wherefore hereby (then said he) see, my owne good daughter, what a difference there is between such as have in effect spent all their days religiouslie, in a penetentiall and spirituall life, and such as have lived in the worlde, like worldlie wretches, as thy poore Father hath done, and consumed all their time licentiouslie in pleasure

pleasure and ease: for God considering their former life painfullie spent in his holie service, will no longer suffer them to remain here in this vale of miserie and teares; but speedilie taketh them hence to his fruition of his Everlasting Deitie. Whereas thy silly Father Megg, that like a wretched Caitiff hath passed forth the whole course of his life sinfullie, as not worthie to come to that eternall blisse, is still left in the world, to be further plunged in his miseries. But God's holie will be done!"

So Sir Thomas being the self same for all these terrible examples, it was thought not the worst to change their manner of proceeding with him, and an other while to trie, if by faire meanes he would relent. So Master Secretarie came to him not long before his arraignment, from the King's Highnes, and pretended great friendshipp towards him: and for his comfort, told him that his Majestie was his good and gratious Lord, and that it was not his pleasure from henceforth to trouble him with anie matter that should be anie manner scruple to his conscience. Sir Thomas easilie perceived the drift of the Devill, and gave Master Secretarie as faire speeches as he brought. And presentlie after his departure, to express the comfort he received of this court holy-water, he wrote these verses following with a cole, for inke had he none. Intituled,

A BALLAD.

LEWIS THE LOST LOVER.

"Fye! flattering fortune, looke thou never so faire,
Or never so pleasant begine to smile,
As though thou wouldest my ruines all repaire,
During my life thou shalt not me beguile.
Trust shall I God to enter in a while
His haven of Heaven, sure and uniforme;
Ever after thy calme, looke I for a storme."

DAVY

DAVY THE DICER.

" Long was I Lady Lucre, your serving man,
And now have I lost againe all that I got:
Wherefore when I thinke of you now and then,
And in my minde remember this and that,
You may not blame though I beshrew your catt:
But in faith I bless you againe a thousand times
For lending me now some leisure to make these rhimes."

Sir Thomas spent his time in Prayer and Meditations; in making and reading good books: the rest in singing of Psalms and hymns; and now and then in making of verses. "*Æquo Animo quis est? psallat.* Who is of a quiet mind let him sing." (James C. 5).

14. Sir Thomas as we have showed, so behaving himself that they could not with any outward honest appearance bring him in danger of his life, one Rich, then newlie made the Kings Solicitour, afterwarde Lord Rich, (it was not known whither it were of sett purpose, or ells he did it of his owne heade, to advance his estimation with the King,) wilfullie sought the destruction of this man; and laid openlie to his chardge that he had spoken traiterous words in the derogation of the Kings Supremacie. And it was uppon this pretence. Mr. Rich Solicitour, Sir Richard Southwell, and Master Palmer came togeather to Sir Thomas. Master Rich pretended friendlie talke with him; the other two were busie in trussing up his bookes, for, for that end they came thither. Amongst some speeches between them two, the Solicitour said thus. " Forasmuch as it is well knowne Master More, that you are a man both wise and learned, as well in the lawes as otherwise, I pray you therefore let me be so bould as in good will to put unto you this case. Admitt there were an act of

of Parliament, that all the Realme should take me for King, would not you (quoth he) take me for King?" "Yes" (quoth Sir Thomas) "that I would." Put case farther" (quoth Master Rich), "that there were an Act of Parliament, that all the Realme should take me for Pope, would not you also take me for Pope?" Sir Thomas answered; "Well may the Parliament, Master Rich, medle with the state of temporall Princes, but to your last case, for answere, I put you this case. Suppose the Parliament should make a lawe that God should not be God, would then you Master Rich, say that God were not God?" "No Sir (quoth he), that I would not; sith no Parliament can make anie such lawe." "No more can the Parliament" (said Sir Thomas, as Master Rich reported, and afterwards deposed, but how true God knoweth) "make you King, and constitute you supreame head of the Church of God." Upon this bare reporte was Sir Thomas indited of Treason, upon the Statute whereby it was enacted and made Treason to denie the King to be supreame head of the Church.

So Sir Thomas, about a week or thereabouts after the death of Bishopp Fisher of blessed memorie, the first of Julie was brought to Westminster Hall to be arraigned at the Kings Bench before certaine Commissioners appointed for that end. After that his enditement was red, which was long, and contained manie heynous words, as that *maliciously, traiterouslie, against the Crown and Regall Dignitie of his sacred Majestie, &c.;* the Lord Chauncellour and the Duke of Norfolk said unto him, "Sir Thomas More, you see that you have heynouslie offended the Kings Majestie: howbeit, we are in verie good hope, such is his bountie and clemencie, that if you will revolt, and reforme your willfull

willfull and obstinate opinion, that you have so wrongfullie maintained, you shall taste of his gratious pardon." "My Lords" (quoth Sir Thomas), "I do most humblie thanke your honours, for your great good will towards me; howbeit I make this boon and petition unto Almightie God, before whose dreadfull Tribunall we shall all stande, that he will vouchsafe of his goodness to nourish and maintaine this my honest and upright minde even to the last hour that ever I shall live. Concerning the matter that you chardge and challenge me withall, the Articles are so prolix and long, that I feare, what from my long imprisonment, what for my lingring disease, and what for my present weakness and debilitie, that neither witt, nor my memorie, nor yet my voice, will serve to make so full effectuall and sufficient an answere, as the weight and importance of these matters doe crave."

When he had thus spoken, susteyning his weak and feeble bodie with a staffe, which he had in his hand, commandment was given to bring him a chair, wherein being sett he commenced his answere much after this fashion.

"First, as touching the article, wherein it is laid to my chardge, that I doe utter and shew my malice against the King; and at his late marriage have ever repined, and resisted the same to my power: I can say nothing but this; that of malice I never spake anie thing against it; and whatsoever I have spoken in that matter, I have no otherwise spoken, but according to my minde and opinion; in the which, if I should for the discharge of my conscience towards God, and my dewtie to my Prince otherwise have done than I have done, I might well account myself to be herein both unfaithfull and disloyall. And for this my errour if I may call it an errour, or have been deceaved herein, I have not

not gone free and untouched; for all my goods, lands, and chattells be confiscated, and myself judged to perpetuall imprisonment, where I have been now shutt up above fifteen moneths, and all be to Gods honour. Moreover I answere; whereas in this Article is conteyned that I have incurred the danger of the last act of Parliament, made since I was last imprisoned touching the Kings supremacie, and that I have, as a traytor and rebell, gone aboute to robb and spoil the King of his Title and due honour; and againe how that I am chaullenged, that I would not answere Master Secretarie, and other of the Kings privie Counsell; nor would utter my minde unto them uppon my alleageance, what I thought of the statute, either in disliking or liking, but onlie this, "that I was a dead man, and mortified towards the Worlde, refusing to thinke of anie other matter, than of the Passion of Christ, and my passing out of this world;" touching I say this accusation, I answere that for this my taciturnity and silence, neither your lawe nor anie other lawe in the Worlde is able justlie to punish me, except besides this, they can prove some worde facte or deede." To this the King's Attourney Master Maring said, "Marie, this verie silence of your's is a verie sure token and demonstration of a corrupt and perverse nature, maligning and repining against the statute. Yea there is no true and faithfull subject, that being required of his minde, upon his alleageance, touching this statute, that is not deeplie bounde, without anie dissimulation, to confess it to be lawefull and goode." "Truelie" (quoth Sir Thomas), "if the rule of the civill lawe be allowed, that "*qui tacet consentire videtur*, he that holdeth his peace, seemeth to consent," then this my silence importeth rather a confirmation, than a condemnation of your statute; and that you

you said Master Maring, that everie good subject is obliged to answere and confesse as you said, you must understand that in things touching conscience, everie true and faithfull subject is bound more to have respect unto his conscience, and his soule, than to anie other thinge in the worlde besides; especiallie when his answere may give occasion of contumelie, or reproach, or dishonour against his King. And for me, I assure you I have forborne to disclose my minde to anie man living in the Worlde, in respect of the honour I bear to my Prince, lest my plaine meaning might be interpreted an occasion of others offending."

The second Article did enforce all the foresaid accusations of transgressing the statute touching the King's Supremacie, for that Sir Thomas (as it was said) wrote divers letters to John Fisher Bishopp of Rochester, willing him in no wise to condescend to the said statute. "Would God, those letters" (quoth Sir Thomas) "might be produced and openlie red! But forasmuch as you say, that my Lord of Rochester hath burned them, I will not sticke trulie to utter the contents of them. In one of them there was nothing in the Worlde but certaine familiar talke, and recommendations such as was seemlie and agreeable to our old acquaintance. In the other was contained my answere that was made to the said Bishopp, demanding me what I had answered in my first examination upon this statute; whereunto I answered nothing ells, but that I had settled and quieted my conscience, and so I would he should doe his; and other answere than this upon the chardge of my soule, made I none. And these be the tenours of my letters, which little advantage you, whereby any thing might be fastened upon me by lawe to condemn me to death."

After

After this answered he to the third Article, wherein was laid to his chardge, "that at such time as he was examined in the Tower, he should answere, that the statute was like a two edged sword, the which if anie man would keep and observe it, he should thereby lose his soule; and in case he did not observe it, he should thereby loose his corporall life." The verie same answer the Bishopp of Rochester made; whereby it doth evidentlie appear that it was a purpose, and a sett matter between you, by mutual conference and agreement.

To these Sir Thomas answered, "that he did not preciselie but conditionallie answere, that in case the statute were like to be a double edged sworde, he could not tell in the worlde, how a man should demean and order himself, but that he should fall in one of the daungers. Neither doe I know what answere the Bishopp made; whose answere, if it were agreeable and correspondent to mine, that had happened by reason of the correspondence and congruitie of our witts, learning, and studie, not that anie such thinge was purposelie concluded upon and accorded betwixt us. Neither hath there at anie time, anie worde, or deed maliciously scaped or proceeded from me against your statute; albeit it may be that my wordes might be wrongfullie and maliciouslie reported to the Kings Majestie." And thus did Sir Thomas More easily cast and shake off such and like criminations. Amongst other things it was said, that he would upon the inditement have abiden in lawe, but that thereby he should be driven to confess of himself the matter indeed, which was the deniall of the Kings Supremacie, which he protested was untrue. Wherefore he thereto pleaded *Not guilty;* and so reserved to himself advantage to be taken of the bodie of the matter,

matter, after verdict to avoide the inditement; and moreover added that if onlie these odious terms *maliciouslie, traiterouslie, diabollicallie* were put out of the inditement, he sawe nothing therein justlie to chardge him.

Wherefore at the last cast and refuge, to prove that Sir Thomas More was guiltie of that Treason, Master Rich was called to give evidence to the Jury, upon his oath, as he did. Againste whome thus sworne, Sir Thomas More begann in this wise to say: "If I were a man my Lords, that did not regard an oath, I need not, as it is well knowne, in this place, at this time, nor in this cause stand here as an accused person. If this oath of yours, Master Rich, be true, then pray I that I never see God in the face; which I would not say were it otherwise, to winne the whole worlde." Then recited he to the Court, the whole discourse of all their whole communication in the Tower, according to the trueth; and said "In good faith, Master Rich, I am sorrier for your perjurie, than myne owne perill. And you shall understand, that neither I, neither anie man else to my knowledge, ever took you to be a man of such credit, as in a matter of importance, I, or anie other would vouchsafe to communicate with you. And I as you knowe, of no small while have been acquainted with you, and your conversation; who have knowne you from your youth hitherto, for we long dwelt in one Parish togeather; whereas yourself can well tell, (I am sorrie you compell me so to say), you were esteemed verie light of your tongue, a common Lyar, a great dicer, and of no commendable fame. And so in your house at the Temple, where hath been your chief bringing up, were you likewise accounted. And therefore may it seem likelie to your honourable Lordshipps, that I would, in so weightie a

cause, so unadvisedlie overshoot myself, as to trust Master Rich, a man of me alwaies reputed for one of little trust, as your Lordshipps hath heard, so farr to abuse my Soveraign Lord, or anie of his noble Counsellors, that I would unto him utter the secrets of my conscience, touching the Kings Supremacie, the speciall point and onlie marke at my handes so long sought for; a thing which I never did, nor never would, after a Statute made, reveal to the Kings Highnes himself, nor to anie of his honourable Counsellors; as it is not unknowne to your honours, at sundrie severall times sent from his Grace's owne person unto the Tower to me for no other purpose? Can this in your judgements my Lords, seem like to be true? And yet, if I had so done indeed my Lords, as Master Rich hath sworne, seeing that it was spoken but in familiar secret talke, nothing affirming, and onelie in putting of cases, without other displeasant circumstances, it cannot justlie be taken to be spoken *maliciouslie*; for where there is no malice, there can be no malicious offence. And never thinke my Lords that so manie worthie Bishopps, so manie honourable Personages, and so manie other worshipfull, vertuous wise and well learned men, as at the making of that lawe were in that Parliament assembled, ever meant to have anie man punished by death, in whom there could be found no malice, taking *Malitia* for *Malevolentia*, for, if *Malitia* is generallie taken for *Sinne*, no man is then that can excuse himself. "*Quod si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus nosmetipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.*" (1 Joan 1.) And overlie this worde *Maliciouslie* is in this Statute materiall; as this term *forciblie* is in the Statute of *forcible entry*: By which Statute, if a man enter peaceablie, and put not his adversarie out forciblie, it is no offence; but

but if he put him out forciblie, then by that Statute it is an offence, and so shall he be punished by this terme *forciblie*. Besides this, the manifold goodness of the King's Highness himself, that hath bene so manie waies my singular good and gratious Soveraign, even at my first coming into his Noble Service, with the dignitie of his honourable Privie Counsell, vouchsafing to admit me into offices of great credit and worshipp, most liberallie advanced me, and finallie with the great weightie roome of his Graces high Chauncellourshipp (the like he never did to temporall man before), next to his royall person, the highest office of this noble Realme; so farre above my merits and qualities, thereto of his incomparable benignitie, honoured and exalted me, by the space of twentie yeares, and more, shewing his continuall favour towards me; and untill at my poore humble suite it pleased his Majestie, (giving me licence with his Highness' favour, to bestowe the rest of my life for the provision of my soule, in the service of God), of his especiall goodness, therefore to discharge and disburthen me; all this his Highnes's goodness I say, so long, so bountifullie extended towards me, in heaping honours upon honours, were in my minde my Lords, matter sufficient to convince this slanderous surmise by this man so wrongfullie imagined against me."

Master Rich seeing himself disproved, and his credit so fowllie defaced, caused Sir Richard Southwell and Master Palmer, who at the time of their communication were in the chamber with them, to be sworne what words passed betwixt them.

Whereupon Master Palmer upon his deposition said, "that he was so busie about trussing up of Sir Thomas his books in a sacke, that he tooke no heed to their talke." Sir Richard Southwell likewise

wise upon his deposition said, "that because he was appointed onlie to looke to the conveiance of his bookes, he gave no care unto them."

After this were manie other reasons by Sir Thomas More in his owne defence alledged, to the discredit of Master Riche's foresaid evidence, and proof of the clearness of his owne conscience. All which notwithstanding, the Jurie found him guiltie, in a verie short time. And incontinent upon their verdict, the Lord Chancellour, for that matter chiefe commissioner, beginning to proceed in judgment against Sir Thomas, Sir Thomas interrupted him; "My Lord," (quoth he), "when I was towards the lawe, the manner in such cases was, to aske the Prisoner before judgment, why judgment should not proceed against him." Whereupon the Lord Chauncellour, staying his judgment, wherein he had partlie proceeded, demanded of him what he was able to say for the saving of his life. Who in this sort most humblie made answere. "Seeing that I see you are determined to condemn me, (God knoweth how justlie), I will now, in discharge of my conscience, speake my mind plainelie and freelie touching my inditement, and your statute therewithall. And forasmuch as this statute is grounded upon an act of Parliament directlie repugning to the lawes of God, and his holie Church, the supreame government and authority of which, or of anie part thereof may no temporall Prince or King presume by lawe or right to take upon him, as rightfullie by the lawes of God belonging to the Sea of Rome, a spirituall preeminence by the mouth of our Saviour himself, personallie present upon Earth, onelie to Saint Peter and his successors, Bishopps of the same Sea by speciall prerogative graunted. To him, it was said "*Pasce oves meas.*" Let Cæsar give to Cæsar, that is Cæsar's; to God

that is God's. It is therefore a lawe, amongst Christian men, insufficient and of no effect to chardge anie man therewithall."

This was spoken concerning the statute, and for proof, hereafter, like as amongst divers other reasons and authorities, he declared, "that this Realme of England, being but one member and part of the Church of God, might not make a Parliament lawe disagreeable to Christ's Universall Catholicke Church; no more than the Citie of Bristowe, being but one poore Member, in respect of the whole realme, may make a lawe against an Act of Parliament, to bind the whole Realme under pain of Death to obey it. So further he shewed, that it was not onelie contrarie to the lawes of God, but also contrarie to the lawes and statutes of our owne Nation, yet in force and unrepealed, as most evidentlie it doth appear in Charta Magna: *Quod ecclesia Anglicana libera sit, et habeat omnia jura sua integra, libertates suas illesas:* Also he showed that it was contrarie to the sacred oath, which the Kings Highnes himself, and everie other Christian Prince alwaies received with great solemnity at their Coronations, inviolately to observe; alleaging moreover, that with no more right this Realme of Englande refuseth obedience to the See of Rome, than the Child refuseth obedience to his owne naturall Father. For as Saint Paul said to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 4.) "*I have regenerated you, my Children in Christ;*" so might Saint Gregory Pope of Rome, of whome by Saint Austin, his messenger, wee first received the Christian faith, of us Englishmen truelie say, "You are my Children, because to you I have given salvation, a farre higher and better inheritance, than anie carnall Father can leave to his Children; and by regeneration I have made you my spirituall Children in Christ."

Then

Then was it by the Lord Chancellour answered, "that seeing all the Bishopps, Universties, and best learned of the Realme had to this Act agreed, it was much merveiled, that he alone against them all would so stifelie sticke thereat, and so vehementlie argue there against." Which reason in effect the Abbot of Westminster made against him, when he appeared before the Commissioners at Lambeth. To this Sir Thomas replied, saying, "that this seaven yeares, seriouslie and earnestlie he had beset his studies and cogitations upon this pointe, chieflie amongst others, of the Pope's authoritie; neither as yet, said he, have I chaunced upon anie Ancient Writer or Doctour that so advaunceth it, as your Statute doth of any Secular or Temporall Prince. If there were no more but myself upon my side, and the whole Parliament upon the other, I would be sore afraid to leane to mine owne mind onelie against so manie; but if the number of Bishopps and Universities be so materiall as your Lordshipp seemeth to take it, then see I little cause my Lord, why that thing in my conscience should make any chaunge; for I nothing doubt but that, tho' not in this Realme, yet in Christendome about, of these well learned Bishopps and vertuous men that are yet alive, they be not the fewer part that are of my minde herein. But if I should speake of those that are alreadie dead, of whome many are now holie Saints in Heaven, I am very sure that it is the far greater part of them, that all the while they lived, thought in this case, that way which I thinke now, and therefore am I not bound my Lorde to conforme my conscience to the counsell of our Realme against the Generall Counsells of all Christendome; for of the foresaid holy Byshopps, I have for everie Byshopp of yours above an hundred, yea well might I add, a thou-

sand; and for one Counsell of Parliament of your's (God knoweth what manner of one), I have all the Counsells made this manie hundred yeares; and for this one Kingdom I have all other Christian Realms." Then answered the Duke of Norfolk, "Wee now plainelie perceave, that you are maliciouslie bent." "Nay, nay," (quoth Sir Thomas), "verie and pure necessitie, for dischardge of my conscience, enforceth me to speake so much; wherein I call and appeal to God, whose onelie sight pierceth the verie depth of mans hart, for witness: howbeit it is not so much for the Supremacie that you seek my bloud, as because I would not condescend to the second marriage of the King, his first Wife yet living."

Now Sir Thomas More for the avoiding of his inditement, had taken so manie exceptions as he thought meet, and manie more reasons than are here alleaged; the Lord Chancellour loath to have the inditement wholie to depend upon him, there openlie asked the advice of the Lord Fitz-James, then Lord Chief Justice of the Kings bench, and joined with him in commission; "whether this inditement were sufficient or not." Who like a wise man answered, "My Lord, by Saint Julian" (that was ever his oath) "I must needs confess, that if the Act of Parliament be lawefull, then the inditement is good enough." Whereupon the Lord Chauncellour said to the rest of the Lords, "My Lords, you heare what my Lord Chief Justice saith. What thinke you?" No man made answere in particular; and so immediatelie he gave judgment without anie further adoe, against Sir Thomas, in this manner, "Wee command, that Sir Thomas More, sometime Knight, be carried back to the place from whence he came, and from thence be drawn through the Citie to the publicke place of

execution, there to be hanged till he be half dead, then to be cut down, his bowells presentlie to be taken out and burned, his head to be cut off, and his bodie to be quartered into fower parts; and the bodie and head to be sett up where the King shall appoint. So Lord have mercie uppon you!"

This Sentence was chaunged into beheading onlie. For it is an ancient custome of our countrie for men of high birth or office, condemned to die though for Treason, to have this graunted them as a priviledge, to have but their heads cut off.

After this Sentence was ended, the Commissioners did further courteouslie offer him if he had anie thing ells to alleage for his defence, to graunt him favourable audience. Who answered, "My Lords, more I have not to say; but that like as the Blessed Apostle Saint Paul, as we reade in the Acts, was present, and consented to the death of Saint Stephen, and kept the cloathes of them that stoned him to death, and yet be they both twaine compeers and holie Saints in Heaven, and shall continue there friends togeather for ever; so I verilie trust, and shall therefore right hartilie pray, though your Lordships have now here on Earthe been my Judges to my condemnation; wee may yet hereafter in Heaven, all merrilie meet togeather to our everlasting salvation. And thus I desire Almightie God to preserve and defend the King's Majestie, and to send him good Counsell!"

Thus much now concerning his arraignment. After the which, he departed from the Barre to the Tower againe, ledd by Sir William Kingstone, a tall, strong and comelie Knight, Constable of the Tower, and his deare friende. Whom when he had brought from Westminster to the Old Swanne, towards the Tower, with a heavie heart, the tears running

ning downe amaine the old Knights cheeks, he bade him, Farewell, scarce able to speake another worde. Sir Thomas More seeing him so sorrie, comforted him with as good words as he could possiblie devise, saying, "Good Master Kingstone, trouble not yourself. I beseech you be of good cheer; for I will pray for you, and for my good Ladie your wife, that we may meet in Heaven togeather, where we shall be merrie for ever."

15. When Sir Thomas came from Westminster towards the Tower, his Daughter Margaret, desirous to see her Father, whom she thought she should never see againe in this Worlde, and also to have his last blessing, gave attendance about the Tower wharfe, where she knew her Father would passe: whome as soon as she sawe, she reverentlie bowed herself upon her knees to take his blessinge. After She hastened towards him, without consideration or care of herself, pressing in amongst the thickest of the throng and companie of the guard, who with halberts and bills went round about him: she ran to her Father, and there openlie in the sight of them all imbraced him about the necke, and kissed him most lovinglie. Who well liked her naturall and deare Daughterlie affection towards him; gave her his fatherlie blessing and manie godlie words of comfort; besides telling her that whatsoever he suffered, though he suffered as an innocent, yet did he not suffer it without Gods holie will and pleasure, "For thou knowest, Megg, my deare Daughter, thou knowest the verie botom and secrets of my hart. So thou hast cause, rather to congratulate and rejoice with me, and for me, that God hath thus gratiouslie advanced me to this high honour, and hath made me worthie to spend my life, for the defence and upholding of virtue, justice, and religion, than to be dismaide

or

or discomfited. Therefore be of good comfort." O noble and worthie voice of our Christian Socrates! The old Socrates, that excellent Philosopher, was also unjustlie put to death; who when his Wife at that time following, outrageouslie cried out, "Shall Socrates, so good a man, be put to death?" "Peace my good wife" (quoth he) "and content thyselt; it is farr better for me to die a true and good man, than to live as a wretch and malefactour."

To come againe to Mistress Roper. Being departed from her Father, she was not satisfied with the former sight of him; like one that had forgotten herself, being ravished with the entire love of her deare Father, having no respect to herself, nor to the multitude of people that were about him, suddenlie she turned backe againe, ranne to him as before, tooke him about the neck, and divers times most lovinglie kissed him; and at last with a full heavie hart was faine to depart from him: the beholding whereof was to manie there present so lamentable, that it made them for verie sorrowe and compassion to weep. Yet Sir Thomas, as one quite mortified to the worlde, and all worldlie affection, as though he were whollie fixed in the love of Heaven, albeit he was a most loving, tender, and natural Father to all his Children, and above all other most dearelie loved this his Daughter Margaret; yet the love of God, and the desire of Heaven had so mightilie subdued and conquered even nature itself, that he neither sighed nor wept, nor shewed any token of sorrowe or griefe, no nor once, for all this, chaunged his countenance: such was his temper and moderation of minde; such his resolution and carriage in this matter; as if he had been discharged of all human affection and incombrances of the same; more like an Angell than

a Man. The like temper of his mind he showed at his arraignment; for neither in speech nor countenance he showed anie sign of alteration nor passion.

Thus Sir Thomas was brought to the Tower againe; where he remained a se'night after his judgment; from whence, the day before he suffered, he sent by a Maide his shirt of haire, his *discipline*, and a letter written with a cole, expressing his divine spirit, and not forgetting the parts of a loving Father, to his Daughter Margaret; the copie whereof followeth; and because it was the last that ever he wrote, I will sett it downe verbatim.

A Letter to his Daughter Margaret.

"Our Lord bless you good Daughter, and your good Husband, and your little boy, and all yours, and all my Children, and all my God-Children, and all our friends! Recommend me, when you may, to my good Daughter Cicilie, whom I beseech our Lord to comfort; and I send her my blessing, and to all her children; and pray her to pray for me. I send her a handkerchief. And God comforte my good Sonne her Husband!" (to witt, Master Giles Heron).

"My good Daughter Dansey hath the picture in parchment, that you delivered me from my Ladie Conyers; her name is on the back side: Shew her it; and I heartilie pray her, that you may send it againe in my name to my Ladie, for a token from me to pray for me. I like speciall well Dorothie Collie." (This Dorothie Collie was afterwards wife to John Harris, Sir Thomas his Secretarie. She oftentimes had access to Sir Thomas, and brought him manie presents and tokens from her Mistress, Mistress Margaret Roper). "I pray

pray you be good to her. I would witt whether this be she you wrote to me of. If not, yet I pray you be good to the other, as you may, in her affliction. And to my Daughter Joan Allen too:" (This was none of his Daughters, nor anie thing a-kinn to him; but because she waited on his Daughter Margaret Roper, and was brought up of a little one in his House; in kindness he called her Daughter). "Give her I pray you some kind answer, for she sued hither to me this day, to pray you to be good to her. I comber you good Margaret much; but I would be sorrie it should be anie longer then tomorrow; for it is Saint Thomas's Eve, and the Utas of Saint Peter," (to witt the sixth day of Julie; for the seventh day is the translation of Saint Thomas of Canterburie. Therefore most fitlie God of his high Providence had ordeined, that he that suffered for the supremacie of the Pope, should suffer on that day wherein was combined two feasts of speciall defendants of that veritie): "and therefore tomorrow long I to go to God. It were a meet day, and verie convenient for me. I never liked your manners better towards me, than when you kissed me last." (He meaneth that time, when he came from judgment). "For I love when Daughterlie love, and deare charitie hath no leisure to look to worldlie curtesie. Fare well my deare Child, and pray for me, and I shall for you, and all your friends, that we may merrilie meet in Heaven. I thanke you for your cost. I send now to my good Daughter Clement her Algorisme stone[s]." (This Mistress Clement, was not his naturall daughter, but was named before she was married, Mar-

[s] *Her Algorisme stone.*] "An arithmetical stone. Ab Arabibus nomen *Algorismi* accepimus, pro praxi arithmetica per figuras numerales. Wallis." Lewis, p. 185.

garet

garet Gige. Her Husband was called John Clement a famous Doctour of Phisicke). "And I send her, and my God-sonne, and all hers, Gods blessing and mine. I pray you at convenient time recommend me to my good Sonne John More. I liked well his naturall fashion." (This he meant, because he reverentlie kneeled downe, and asked him blessing, when he came from Judgment.) "Our Lord bless him, and his good Wife my loving Daughter; to whom I pray him to be, as he hath great cause to be good: and that if the land of mine come to his hande, he breake not my will concerning his Sister Dansey. Our Lord bless Thomas, and Austine, and all that they have. Farewell" (This Thomas was John's eldest Sonne, and is yet alive.)

Anno 1535. 5to Julii, pridie natjvitatis ejus.

16. Upon the next morrowe being Tuesday, and the feast of St. Peter's octaves, and the eve of St. Thomas of Canterburie, in the yeare of our Lord God 1535, in the twenty seventh year of the reign of King Henery the eighth, according as Sir Thomas in his letters the day before had wished; earlie in the morning came to him Sir Thomas Pope, his verie good frende, on a message from the King and his Counsell, that he should prepare himself; for before nine o'clocke the same morning he should loose his head.

"Master Pope" (quoth he) "for your good tidings, I most hartilie thanke you. I have bene alwaies much bounden to the King's Highnes, for the benefits and honours that he hath still from time to time most bountifullie heaped upon me. Yet more bound am I unto his Grace for putting me into this place, where I have had convenient time and place to have remembrance of my end. And so help me God! Most of all Master Pope,

I am

I am bound to his Hi hnes, that it pleaseth him so shortlie to ridd me out of the miseries of this wretched life; and therefore will I not faile earnestlie to pray for his Grace both here, and also in an other worlde." "The King's pleasure is further" (quoth Master Pope) "that at your execution, you shall not use manie wordes." "Master Pope," (quoth he) you do well to give me warning of his Grace his pleasure; for otherwise I had purposed at that time somewhat to have spoken; but of no matter wherewith his Grace nor anie other should have had cause to be offended. Nevertheless whatsoever I intended, I am readie obedientlie to conform myself to his Graces commandment. And I beseech you good Master Pope, to be meanes to his Highnes, that my Daughter Margaret may be at my buriall." "The King is contented alreadie" (quoth Master Pope), "that your Wife, Children, and other Friends shall have libertie to be present thereat." "O how much beholding then" (quoth Sir Thomas) "am I to his Grace, that to my poor buriall vouchsafeth to have such gratious consideration." Wherewithall Master Pope taking his leave with him, could not refraine from weeping; which Sir Thomas More perceiving comforted him in this wise. "Quiet yourself good Master Pope, and be not discomforted; for I trust that wee shall once see each other in Heaven full merrilie; where wee shall be sure to live and love togeather in joy and blisse eternallie."

After whose departure Sir Thomas, as one that had been invited to some solemn banquet, was merveillous glad of this day; which he knew, either by the spirit of prophesie, or spoke it in the confidence he had in his familiaritie with God, he appointed to render his soule into the hands of his Creatour, fullie and certainlie to receave of him the

the guerdon of his well doing. The day before he had sent away his spirituall weapons. Knowing the tyme of his warfare presentlie to have an end, he left off his mourning, and disciplining of his bodie, which mightilie he did from the time of his condemnation, till now, in this manner. He wrapt himself in a linen sheet, like a bodie to be laid in a grave; so walked he most part of the night, and severelie punished his bodie with a whipp; but now in token of joy and exultation of his minde, he changed himself into his best Aparell. Which Master Lieutenant espying, advised him to put it off, saying that he that should have it, was but a Javell. "What Master Lieutenant" (quoth he) "should I account him a Javell, that shall doe me this day so singular a benefitt, that all the friends I have in the world neither have, nor can doe me the like good? Nay I assure you Sir, if it were cloth of gold, I would thinke it well bestowed upon him." But at length through the importunate persuasion of the Lieutenant, he put off his camlet gown, which Master Bonvise, his deare friende, sent him after his imprisonment; and put on a gown of friese; and to make the executioner amends, of that money which was left him, agreeably to the example of Blessed Saint Ciprian, he caused an Angell of gold to be delivered him.

17. Sir Thomas fasting, and clad in an old ill favoured friese gown, which to him was his marriage garment, and so meanlie apparelled the better to remember the povertie of his Maister Christ, was by the Lieutenant brought from the Tower towards the place of execution; where by the way a certaine importunate Woman, with a loud voice called unto him at the Tower gate, beseeching him to declare, that he had certaine evidences of her's, that were delivered him, when he was in office; saying,

saying, that sithence he was apprended she could by no means come to them againe; and that he would be a meane, that she might recover them, the loss whereof she said did much grieve her. "Good Woman" (quoth he), "content thyself, and have patience awhile; for the King is so good and gratious to me, that even within this half hour he will disburthen me of all worldlie business, and help thee himself." A little further a good woman offered him wine to drinke. "Marrie good Wife" (quoth he), "I will not drinke now. My Maister had easell and gall, and not wine given him to drinke."

A little further a third woman, and she was verie clamerous: "Do you remember Master More, that when you were Chauncellour, you were my hard friend, and did me great injurie in giving wrong judgment against me?" "Woman" (quoth he), "I am now going to my death. I remember well the whole matter; if now I were to give sentence againe, I assure thee, I would not alter it. Thou hast no injurie, so content thee, and trouble me not."

Afterwards as he passed, there came to him a Citizen of Winchester; who had been once with Sir Thomas before, and it was uppon this occasion. This poor man was grievouslie vexed with verie vehement and grievous tentations of Desperation, and could never be ridd of it either by counsaile or prayer of his owne or of his friends. At last a good friend of his brought him to Sir Thomas, then Chauncellour; who taking compassion of the poor man's miserie, gave him the best counsaile and advice he could; but it would not serve. Then fell he to his prayers for him, beseeching earnestlie Almightie God to rid the poor man of his trouble of minde. He obtained it: for after that, the

Hampshire

Hampshire man was never troubled with it anie more, so long as he would come to Sir Thomas More. But after he was imprisoned, and could have no access unto him, his tentations began againe, more vehement and troublesome than ever before; so he spent his daies with a heavie hart and without all hope of remedie. But when he heard that Sir Thomas was condemned, he posted from Winchester, hoping at least to see him as he should goe to execution; and so determined to speake with him, come what would of it. And for that cause he placed himself in the way; and at his coming by, he thrust through the throng, and with a loud voice said, "Master More, do you knowe me? I pray you for our Lord's sake help me. I am as ill troubled as ever I was." Sir Thomas answered, "I remember thee full well. Go thy waies in peace, and praie for me, and I will not faile to praie for thee." And from that time after, so long as he lived, he was never troubled with that manner of tentation.

Thus he came to the scaffold, where taking the help of one of the Officers to ascend, he desired all the people thereabouts to pray for him; and being forbidden to make anie further speech, he desired all there that were present, to beare witness that he should suffer in and for the faith of the Catholic Church. "For I call Heaven and Earth to witness, I am the Kings true and faithfull subject; the Servant of Almightie God; and determined to die in the profession of his holie religion." So he kneeled him downe on his knees, and with a loud voice said the fiftieth Psalm *Miserere mei Deus*, to the end, with some other prayers. After which he turned to the executioner and with chearfull countenance spake to him sayinge, "What man, pull up thy spirits, and be not afraid to do thine office;"

office;" who as, the manner is, asked him forgiveness. Sir Thomas kissed him, and told him, "no mortall man could give that, he should receive at his hands: but I am sorie my necke is so short, therefore strike not awrie, for saving of thy honestie." So he tooke a napkin that he brought with him, wherewith he blindfolded his owne eies, stroaking his beard, which was then growne long in the time of his durance, and laid it over the block, and thereon laid his head even and quiet. So with one blow of an axe his sweet Soule passed out of this worlde unto Almightie God, the verie same day that he most desired, and before foretold, to witt, the octaves of Saint Peter, the Eve of Saint Thomas, the sixth of Julie in the yeare of our Lord 1535, in the twentie seventh of the reign of King Henery the eighth, and the yeare of his age fifty five, or fifty six, as some say.

18. Sir Thomas More was wont to say in manner of an adage, "A man may lose his head and take no harme:" so it was verified in him; for he lost his head, but tooke no harme. For his temporall life, he now posesseth everlasting bliss and felicitie in the blissful quiers of Saints and Angells; and in earth hath his fame eternized to all posterity; and his name, not onelie of his friends and well willers, but of his enemies and greatest adversaries, it is had in much reverence and regard.

Immediatelie after the execution of Sir Thomas More, word was brought thereof to the King; who being then at dice when it was told him, at the hearing thereof seemed to be wonderfullie amazed. "And is it true (quoth the King)? "Is Sir Thomas More, my Chauncellour, dead?" The Messenger answered, "Yea, if it may please your Majestie." He turned him to Queen Anne, who then

then stood by, and wistlie looking upon her said, "Thou, thou art the cause of this man's death." So presentlie went to his chamber, and there wept full bitterlie. For so unjust and violent a death of so innocent a man, could not but grieve the verie authors of it. It was wonderfull to thincke how the King could find in his hart to put this holie, innocent and famous man to death, but defiled with seisme, loaded with sinne, and overruled with inordinate affection to Dame Anne, what did he not?

"Nay," saith a Walsh man when he heard this question moved, "that is not so great, for my neighbours of Carmarthen, when Master Davies was arraigned, did at the same time arraigne, indite, and condemn Pius Quintus the Pope, of high Treason, long after his death." Indeed sinne now is at that ripeness, that now with praise and commendations those things be attempted, that in former ages without sinne might not be thought of.

Charles the Emperour, the fifth of that name, a most reverent and victorious Prince, gave a singular testimonie of the praise of this man. For when intelligence came to him of Sir Thomas More his death, he sent presentlie for Sir Thomas Elliott, our English Ambassadour then with him, to whom said the Emperour, "We understand, that the King your Maister hath put to death his faithfull servant, his grave and wise Counsellor, Thomas More." Whereunto our Ambassadour answered that he heard nothing thereof. "Well" (quoth the Emperour), "it is too true. And this wee will saie, that if wee had been Maister of such a Servaunt, of whose doings our self have these manie yeares no small experience, we should rather have lost the best Citie of our Dominion, than have foregone so worthie a Counsellour."

What

What moan and lamentation of all good men in other Countries was made for this man's death well witnesseth that worthie man Cardinall Poole, *lib.* 3^tio *de Unitate Ecclesiæ:* and Johannes Cochleus *libro contra Ricardum Sampsonum.* The like doth Paulus Jovius *in Elogiis, tit.* 89. Gulielmus Paradinus, Johannes Fontanus; Laurentius Surius; Onuphrius Patavinus, with manie others. But lest these may be suspected as partiall, for being of the same faith with him; the Hereticks themselves that then lived, and since, spake honourablie of him. See Johannes Carion; John Sleydan, Johannes Rivius; onlie one or two excepted, as Fox, Hall, Holinsheade, and such Rabines, most obscure and base fellowes, most unworthie to have names of historiographers; yea so impious and shameless they are in their assertions, that they beare no great credit amongst their owne fellowes; so it greatlie skilleth not what they say; yet what they saye by the judgment of all indifferent, tendeth rather to his praise than reproach. One calleth him cruel and hard, for the mislike he shewed to the Hereticks. Another calleth him a foolish wise man, or a wise fool. Another a Jeaster. But maugre all the malice of Heresie, and the iniquity of our most miserable tymes, this eulogium shall for ever be given him. Sir Thomas More for vertue, learning, and integritie of life of a Lay man, was such a Lord Chauncellour, as England never had the like; so trew and blessed a Confessor, in joyfullie suffering disgrace, imprisonment, losse of goods and lands for justice sake, as well he may be compared to the ancient Confessors in that kinde. But his speciall and peerless prerogative is, in that he died a Martyr for the defence and preservation of the unitie of the Catholick Church. And his Martyrdome is so famous and noble, that it is not

inferior to the martyrdome of those that suffered because they would not denie the holie faith of Christ: nay rather it seemeth to be more esteemed. For as the learned and great Clerke Dionisius of Alexandria writeth, "that martyrdome (saith he) that a man suffereth to preserve the unitie of the Church that it may not be broken and rent, is worthie no less commendations, but rather more, than the martyrdome that a man suffereth, because he will not sacrifice to Idols: for in this cause a man doth die to save his owne Soule; in the other for the whole Church." Therefore he is a happie and blessed Martyr; and a Martyr in a cause, that nearer toucheth religion, and the whole faith, than doth the death of the blessed Martyrs Thomas of Dover, and Thomas of Canterburie. (Under pardon of those Saints be it spoken, for I intend not the diminution of their glorious deaths). The first was slain of the French men landing at Dover in his Monasterie. All his fellowes being fled, he being taken, and urged to reveal to them where the treasure and jewells of the Church were, which he denying, by them was massacred. Afterwards God by him shewed manie miracles.

The second was, and is ever taken for a verie worthie Martyr of the whole Church of God, and even of King Henry the second also; for whose displeasure, though by chance, not by his commandment, he was slaine. Albeit we have of late (God give us his grace to repent, and see our folie and impietie!) unshrined him, and buried his holie relicks; and have made him, after so manie hundred yeares, a traytor to the King, who honoured him for a blessed Saint, as did all the Kings his Successors: Yet as we said, there is no great ods in their martyrdomes. For though the King, for the displeasure he bare to the Pope, for that he maintained

maintained and defended Saint Thomas, did for a little while abrogate the Popes authoritie; and went about afore to cut off and abridge some appeals, wont to be made to the Sea of Rome; yet neither did the King take upon him the Supremacie, nor in hart misliked to let the Pope have it; but shortlie restored the Pope to his former authoritie, and revoked all his other misdoings. So in Sir Thomas More there is deeper cause of Martyrdome than in either of these twaine. For Sir Thomas died directlie and onelie for the defence and unitie of the Catholic Church. Howbeit there was great conformitie, both in birth and place, being both born in London: in their names, for they were both Thomas: their Offices, for both were High Chauncellours of England; and in this, when Saint Thomas of Canterburie his troubles beganne, he came to the King carrying his Cross himself, not suffering anie other to carrie it; and in that Sir Thomas More, when his great troubles grew first on him, carried the Crosse in procession in his Parish Church at Chelsey; and both Thomases ever after, though not the materiall, yet the true Crosse of tribulation. In this was some conformitie, that Sir Thomas More died according to his desire upon the Eve of Saint Thomas of Canterburie: but some diversitie there was, as well in that we have shewed, as in that Saint Thomas of Canterburie, defending the dignitie and priviledge of the Church, suffered without any judgment or form of justice in his owne Cathedrall Church, there his consecrated head being cloven in pieces. Sir Thomas More was condemned with pretended justice, which aggravated the iniquitie of the fact, in Westminster Hall. The other was a Bishopp and suffered in his Church. Sir Thomas More, a temporall judge, had sentence given against him, where he and his

Father before him had ministered justice most uprightlie; and in that place, wherein few yeares before, he had received such a praise, even by the Kings owne commandment, as lightlie had not been given to anie other. Sir Thomas his head, for defending the right head of the Church, was cut off by him that tooke the prerogative of Saint Peter and his Successors, and set it upon his owne head. Sir Thomas his head was set upon the Bridge of the Citie where he was borne and brought up, uppon a high pole: a ruthfull spectacle for all good Citizens; and much more lamentable there to see his head, than it was to the Romans, to see the head of Marcus Tullius Cicero set up in the said Citie, where he had by his eloquent orations preserved manie innocents from danger and perill. And yet Sir Thomas his head had not so high a place on the pole, as hath his blessed Soule amongst the Celestiall quiers of Angells in Heaven. Wherefore we may be bold to pray, that God will through the merits and intercessions of this glorious Martyr, cast his pitifull eye of grace upon us, and reduce us to the Unitie of his holie Church, for the defence whereof Sir Thomas More in his holie sight suffered a precious death! Therefore O most blessed God, for the merits of this holie martyr Saint Thomas, of thy infinite goodness, graunt this poor land thy holie grace, to acknowledge their present miserie, and to retourne again unto the bosom of thy holie spouse, the holy Catholick Church, through our Lord Jesus Christ! Amen.

19. *The Description of Sir Thomas More according to the relation of those who best knew him* [9], *and his Picture which was drawn when he was Chauncellour.*

Sir Thomas More was no tall man; all the parts of his bodie [1] were in good proportion, and congruous as a man could wish. His skinne was something white; the colour of his face drewe rather to whiteness then to paleness, farr from redness, saving that some little red sparkes everie where appeared. His hair was blackish yellow, or rather yellow blackish; his beard thynne; his eyes grey and speckled; which kinde of eies do commonlie betoken a good and sharpe witt, and as Phisitians say, are least combered with diseases and faults; his were not great, nor yet glittering, yet much pleasing. His countenance was conformable to his nature and disposition, pleasant and aimiable, somewhat resembling and tending to the fashion of one that would seem to smile. His voice was neither boysterous nor bigg; nor yet too small and shrill; he spake his wordes verie distinctlie and treatable, without anie manner of hastines or stuttering; and albeit he delited in all kinde of melodie, yet he seemed not of his owne nature to be apt to sing himselfe. He enjoyed the health of his bodie verie well: and although he was never a strong man, yet was he able to goe through with anie laboure and paines meet and convenient for him to dispatch his busines. A little before he gave over his office of

[9] *Who best knew him.*] These particulars are taken from the Life by Harpsfield.

[1] *Parts of his bodie.*] "Dexter humerus paulo videtur eminentior lævo, præsertim cum incedit, id quod illi non accidit naturâ, sed *assuetudine*." Erasmi Epistol.

High

High Chauncellourship, he beganne to be troubled with a little sicknes; and after he was shut up in the Tower it much encreased. When he was a young man, he used and delighted in drinking of water; his common drinke was verie small Ale; and as for Wine he did but sipp of it, and that onlie for companies sake, or for pledging his friends. He delighted more to feed upon Beef, and salt meats, coarse bread, and that verie well levened, than upon fine meats and bread. He loved well milke, and fruit, and especiallie Eggs. He had a great pleasure to behold the forme and fashion of beasts and fowles. There was not leightlie anie kinde of Birds, that he had not in his house. He kept an Ape, a Fox, a Wesill, a Ferritt, and other beasts more rare. If there had been anie strange thing brought out of other Countries, and worthie to be looked on, he was desirous to buie it; and all this was to the contentation and pleasure of such as came to him; and himself now and then would make his recreation in beholding them.

Here followeth the translation of his Epitaph, which he wrote in Latin, and would have it placed in his Tomb of Stone, which himself, while he was Lord Chauncellour, caused to be made in his Parish Church of Chelsey, where he dwelled.

"Thomas More a Londoner, born of no noble family, but of an honest stocke; somewhat brought up in learning: after that in his young daies he had been a pleader in the lawes of this Hall, certaine yeares, being one of the Under Sheriffs of London; was of noble King Henerie the eighth (which alone of all Kings worthilie deserved, both with

with sworde and penne to be called Defender of the Faith, a glorie before not heard of) called into the Court, and chosen one of the Counsell, and made Knight: then made under Treasurer of England, after Chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, and last of all, with great favour of his Prince, Lord Chauncellour of England. But in the meane season, he was chosen Speaker of the Parliament; and besides was divers times, in divers places the Kings Ambassadour; and last of all at Cameray, joyned fellowe and companion with Cuthbert Tunstall (chief of that Embassage, Bishopp of London, and within a while after Bishopp of Durham, who so excelleth in learning, witt, and virtue, that the whole world scant hath at this day, anie more learned, wiser, or better) where he both joyfullie sawe and was present Embassadour, when the leagues between the chiefe Princes of Christendome were renewed, and peace, so long looked for, restored to Christendome: which Peace O Lord, stable, and make perpetuall! When he had thus gone through this course of offices or honours, and neither the gratious Prince could disallow his doings, nor he was odious to the Nobilitie, nor unpleasant to the People, but yet to theeves, murtherers, and hereticks grievous: at last John More his Father, Knight, and chosen of the Prince to be one of the Justices of the King's Bench, a civill man, pleasant, harmless, gentle, pitifull, just, and uncorrupted, in yeares old, but in bodie (more then for his yeares) lustie; after that he perceaved his life so long lengthened, that he sawe his Sonne Lord Chauncellour of England, thinking himself now to have lived long enough, gladlie departed to God. His Sonne then, his Father being dead, to whom as long as he lived being compared, he was wont both to be called yonge, and himself so thought

thought too, missing now his Father departed, and seeing fower children of his owne, and of their ofsprings eleven, beganne in his owne conceite to wax olde: and this thought of his was encreased by a certaine sicklie disposition of his breast, even by and by following as a signe or token of age creeping upon him. He therefore, irked and wearie of worldlie busines, giving up his promotions, attained at last by the incomparable benefitt of his most gentle Prince (if it please God to favour his enterprise) that thing, which in a manner from a child he alwaies wished and desired; that he might have some yeares of his life free, in which he little and little withdrawing himself from the busines of this life, might continuallie remember the immortallitie of the life to come.

"And he hath caused this Tomb to be made for himself (his first wife's bones brought hither too), that might everie day put him in minde of death, that never ceaseth to creepe on him. And that this Tomb, made for him in his life time, be not in vaine; nor that he feare death coming upon him, but he may willinglie, for the desire of Christ, die and finde death, not utterlie death to him, but the gate of a welthier life, help him (I beseech you, good reader) now with your prayers while he liveth, and when he is dead also."

Finis.

Laus Deo, beatæque Virgini Mariæ.

WILLIAM TINDALL.

Albeit increasing of learning of tongues and sciences, wyth quicknes of wit in youth and other, doth marvailously shoot up, as is to be seene, to the sufficient furnishyng of Christes Church: yet so it happeneth, I can not tell how, the further I looke backe into those former tymes of TYNDALL, Frith, and others lyke, more simplicitie with true zeale, and humble modestie I see, wyth lesse corruption of affections in them; and yet with these dayes of ours, I finde no fault.

JOHN FOX.

WILLIAM TINDALL.

WILLIAM TINDALL the faithfull Minister and constant martyr of Christ, was borne about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a childe in the Universitie of Oxford, where he by long continuance grew up, and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal Arts, as specially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularlie addicted: Insomuch that hee lying then in Magdalene Hall, read privily to certaine students and fellowes of Magdalen Colledge, some parcell of Divinitie; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whose maners also and conversation being correspondent to the same, were such, that all they that knew him, reputed and esteemed him to be a man of the most vertuous disposition, and of life unspotted.

Thus he in the Universitie of Oxford increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the schooles, spying his time, removed from thence to the Universitie of Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode a certaine space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of Gods word, leaving that Universitie also, hee resorted to one maister Welch a knight of Glocester shire, and was there schoolemaister to his children, and in good favour with his maister. This gentleman, as hee kept a good ordinarie commonly at his table, there resorted to him many times sundry

dry Abbots, Deanes, Archdeacons, with divers other Doctors and great beneficed men; who there together with M. Tindall sitting at the same table, did use many times to enter communication and talke of learned men, as of Luther and of Erasmus: Also of divers other controversies and questions upon the Scripture.

Then maister Tindall as he was learned and well practised in Gods matters, so hee spared not to shew unto them simply and plainly his judgement in matters, as he thought: and when as they at any time did vary from Tindall in opinions and judgement, he would shew them in the booke, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirme his sayings. And thus continued they for a certaine season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their harts againt him.

Not long after this, it happened that certaine of these great Doctors had invited M. Welch and his wife to a banket; where they had talke at will and pleasure, uttering their blindnesse and ignorance without any resistance or gainesaying. Then M. Welch and his wife coming home and calling for M. Tindall, began to reason with him about those matters, whereof the priests had talked before at their banket. M. Tindall answering by Scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then saide the Lady Welch, a stout and a wise woman (as Tindall reported), "Well" (saide shee) "there was such a Doctour which may dispend a hundred pounds, and an other two hundred pounds, and an other three hundred pounds, and what; were it reason, thinke you, that we should beleeve you before them?"

Maister

Maister Tindall gave her no answere at that time; nor also after that (because he saw it would not availe) hee talked but little in those matters. At that time he was about the translation of a booke called Enchiridion militis Christiani, which being translated he delivered to his maister and Lady. Who after they had read and well perused the same, the Doctorly prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the cheere and countenance when they came, as before they had. Which thing they marking and well perceiving, and supposing no lesse but it came by the means of Maister Tindall, refrained themselves, and at last utterlie withdrewe themselves, and came no more there.

As this grew on, the priests of the countrey clustering togither, began to grudge and storme against Tindall, railing against him in alehouses and other places. Of whome Tindall himselfe in his Prologue before the first booke of Moses, thus testifieth in his owne wordes, and reporteth, "that he suffered much in that country by a sort of unlearned Priestes, being full rude and ignorant (sayth hee) God knoweth: which have seene no more Latine than that onelie which they read in their Portesses and Missalles[1]: (which yet manie of them

[1] *Portesses and Missalles.*] The Portesse, Portuas, Porthose, &c. so called from the Fr. *porter*, consisted of a volume of Prayers, Offices, &c. which the Clergy might take along with them as a ready *Manual* for all ordinary occurrences. It was the same book which is now denominated a Breviary.

A Missal is a volume containing all things belonging to the service of the Mass.

"*Nicolas.* But fare well. Masse will be done, or I come. *Oliver.* It makes no matter for one day. I wil read thee a piece of the Scripture, insteede of thy Masse. *Nicol.* I care not for the Scripture: and Sir John bad me beware of it, for it would

them can scarsely reade) except it bee *Albertus de secretis mulierum*, in which yet though they bee never so sorily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they saie: and also an other called Lynwood, a booke of constitutions to gather tythes, mortuaries, offerings, customes, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but Gods part, the dutie of holie church, to discharge their consciences withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish but encrease all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertaine to holie church." Thus these blind and rude priests flocking together to the alehouse (for that was their preaching place) raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresie: adding moreover unto his sayings of their own heads, more than ever he spake, and so accused him secretlie to the Chancelor, and other of the bishops officers.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishops Chauncellour appointed, and warning was given to the priests to appear; amongst whome M. Tindall was also warned to be there. And whether hee had anie misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertaine; but certaine this is (as he himselfe declared) that he doubted their privie accusations; so that he by the waie in going thitherwards, cried in his mind

would make me an heretique. *Oliv.* Sir John then readeth not the Scripture? *Nicol.* No: he saith he wil meddle no further then his *Portas*. *Oliv.* The Scripture is God's word, opened to us from heaven by the holie Prophetes, Apostles, and Christe himselfe. . . . And as for his *Portas*, ther is in it a meany of lies, craftili coined, to deceive such unstable soules as delight in blindnes, deceived themselves, and deceiving other." Michael Wood's *Dialogue*, or *familiar talk*. Signat. D. 8. A. D. 1554.

hartilie to God, to give him strength fast to stand in the truth of his word.

Then when the time came of his appearance before the Chancellor, he threatned him grievously, reviling and rating him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things, wherof no accuser yet could bee brought forth (as commonly their maner is, not to bring forth the accuser) notwithstanding that the priests of the country the same time were there present. And thus M. Tindall, after those examinations escaping out of their hands, departed home and returned to his master againe.

There dwelt not far off a certain Doctor that had bin an old Chancellor before to a bishop, who had bin of olde familiar acquaintance with M. Tindall, and also favoured him wel. Unto whom M. Tindall went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scripture: for to him he durst be bolde to disclose his heart. Unto whom the Doctor said; "Do you not know that the pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it wil cost you your life:" and said moreover, "I have bin an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defie him and all his workes."

It was not long after, but M. Tindall happened to be in the company of a certain Divine, recounted for a learned man, and in communing and disputing with him, he drave him to that issue, that the said great Doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, and said; "We were better to be without Gods lawes then the popes[3]."

Master

[3] *God's lawes then the popes.*] This was by no means an unprecedentedly daring and enthusiastic flight. If we may believe Erasmus, it was among other subjects debated commonly in

Master Tindall hearing this, full of godly zeale, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replyed againe and said; "I defie the pope and all his lawes:" and further added, that if God spared him life, ere many yeares he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture than he did.

After this, the grudge of the priests increasing still more and more against Tindall, they never ceased barking and rating at him; and laide manie sore things to his charge, saying that he was an hereticke in Sophistry, an hereticke in Logicke, an hereticke in Divinitie: and said moreover to him, that he bare himselfe bolde of the Gentlemen there in that countrey: but notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withall. To whom M. Tindall answering againe thus saide, "that he was contented they should bring him into any country in all England, giving him ten pounds a yeere to live with, and binding him to no more but to teach children and to preach."

To be short, M. Tindall being so molested and vexed in the country by the priests, was constrained to leave that country and to seeke an other place: and so comming to M. Welch, hee desired him of his good will, that he might depart from him, saying on this wise to him: "Sir I perceive I shall not be suffered to tarrie long here in this country, neither shall you be able though you would, to

in the Schools in solemn disputations, *Whether the Pope could abrogate that which was decreed by the Apostles;* or *determine that which was contrary to the evangelical doctrine;* or *make a new article in the Creed; Whether he has a greater power than St. Peter,* or *only equal? Whether he can command angels? Whether he can wholly take away Purgatory? Whether he be a mere man,* or *as God participates both natures with Christ? Whether he be not more merciful than Christ was, since we do not read that* HE *ever recalled any from the pains of Purgatory?*" Erasmus's Annotat. on 1 Timoth. c. 1. v. 6.

keepe

keepe me out of the hands of the spiritualty, and also what displeasure might growe thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth: for the which I should be right sorrie." So that in fine, M. Tindall with the good will of his master, departed; and eftsoones came up to London, and there preached awhile, according as he had done in the country before, and specially about the town of Bristow, and also in the said towne, in the common place called S. Austines Greene.

At length he bethinking himself of Cuthbert Tonstal then bishop of London, and especially for the great commendation of Erasmus, who in his annotations so extolleth him for his learning, thus cast with himselfe, that if hee might attain unto his service hee were a happie man. And so comming to sir Henry Gilford the kings controller, and bringing with him an Oration of Isocrates, which he had then translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speake to the said Bishop of London for him. Which he also did, and willed him moreover to write an epistle to the bishop, and to go himselfe with him. Which he did likewise, and delivered his Epistle to a servant of his, named William Hebilthwaite, a man of his old acquaintance. But God who secretly disposeth the course of things, sawe that was not the best for Tindal's purpose, nor for the profit of his church; and therefore gave him to find little favour in the bishops sight. The answere of whom was this, that his house was full; he had mo then he could well finde, and advised him to seeke in London abroad, where he said he could lacke no service. And so remained he in London [3] the space almost

[3] *And so remained he in London.*] We have an account of his habits at this time, in a letter to Cardinal Wolsey and the

most of a yeare, beholding and marking with himselfe the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted themselves and set up their authoritie and kingdom; beholding also the pompe of the prelates, with other things moe which greatlie misliked him: In so much that he understood, not onely there to be no rowme in the bishops house for him to translate the new testament; but also that there was no place to do it in all England. And therefore finding no place for his purpose within the realme, and having some aid and provision by Gods providence ministered unto him by Humfrey Mummoth [4], and certaine

rest of the Council, written from the Tower by Humfrey Mummoth or Monmouth, then in confinement there.

"Four yeres and a half past, and more, I herde the foresaid Sir William *(Tindall)* preach two or three Sermones at St. Donstones in the West in London: and after that, I chanced to meet with him; and with communication I examined what lyvings he had. He said "he had none at all; but he trusted to be with my Lord of London in his service." And therefore I had the better fantasy to him. And afterward he went to my Lord, and spake to him, as he told me. And my Lord of London answered him, "that he had Chaplaines inough; and he said to him, that he would have no more at that tyme." And so the Priest came to me againe, and besought me to help him. And so I took him into my House half a yere: and *there he lived like a good Priest, as me-thought.* He studied most part of the day, and of the night, at his book. And he would eat but sodden meat by his good wil; nor drink but small singie beer. I never saw him weare linen about him, in the space he was with me. I did promys him ten pounds sterling, to praie for my Father and Mother their sowles, and al Christen sowles. I did paie it him, when he made his exchange to Hamb row," &c. Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials.* Vol. I. p. 246. Appendix. Also, compare Fox. p. 909. edit. 1610.

[4] *By Humfrey Mummoth.*] "Of this Humfrey Mummuth we reade of a notable example of Christian patience, in the sermons of Master Latimer, which the saide Latimer heard at Cambridge of Master Stafford, reader of the Divinity lecture in that University; who expounding the place of Saint Paul

certaine other good men, hee tooke his leave of the realme, and departed into Germany. Where the good man beeing inflamed with a tender care and zeale of his country, refused no travell nor diligence how by all meanes possible, to reduce his

to the Romans, that we shall *overcome our enemies with well doing, and so heape hote coales upon his head*, he brought in an example; saying, "that he knew in London a great rich merchant" (meaning this Humphrey Mummuth), which had a verie poore neighbour: yet for all his povertie he loved him verie well, and lent him monie at his need, and let him come to his Table whensoever he would. It was even at that time when Doctor Collet was in trouble, and would have bene burnt if God had not turned the Kings heart to the contrarie. Now the rich Man began to be a Scripture Man; he began to smell the Gospell. The poore Man was a Papist still.

"It chanced on a time, when the rich Man talked of the Gospell sitting at his Table, where he reproved Poperie, and such kind of things, the poore Man tooke a great displeasure against the rich Man, insomuch that he would come no more to his house, he would borrow no more money of him, as he was wont to do before times; yea and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the Bishops. Now the rich man, not knowing of any such displeasure, offered many times to talke with him, and to set him at quiet. It would not be. The poore Man had such a stomacke, that he would not vouchsafe to speake with him. If he met the riche Man in the street, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that he met him in so narrow a street, that he could not avoid but come nere him: yet for all that this poore Man (I say) had such a stomacke against the rich Man, that he was minded to go forwarde and not to speake to him. The rich man perceiving that, caught him by the hande, and asked him, saying, 'Neighbour what is come into your heart to take such displeasure with me? What have I done against you? Tell me, and I will be readie at all times to make you amends.'

"Finally, he spake so gently, so charitably, lovingly, and friendly, that it wrought so in the poore Man's heart, that bye and bye he fell downe upon his knees, and asked him forgiveness. The riche Man forgave him, and so tooke him againe to his favour; and they loved as well as ever they did afore." Fox's *Acts*, p. 909.

brethren and countrimen of England to the same taste and understanding of Gods holy word and veritie, which the Lord had indued him withall.

Whereupon he considering in his mind, and partly also conferring with John Frith, thought with himselfe no way more to conduce thereunto, than if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar speech, that the poore people might also reade and see the simple plaine word of God. For first he wiselie casting in his mind perceived by experience, how that it was not possible to stablish the laie people in anie truth, except the scripture were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the processe, order, and meaning of the text: For else whatsoever truth should be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quench it againe, either with apparant reasons of Sophistry, and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture; either else juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense, as impossible it were to gather of the text, if the right proces, order and meaning thereof were seen.

Againe, right well he perceived and considered, this onely, or most chiefly to be the cause of all mischiefe in the Church, that the scriptures of God were hidden from the peoples eyes: For so long the abhominable doings and idolatries maintained by the Pharisaicall clergy, could not be espied, and therefore all their labour was with might and maine to keepe it downe, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were they wold darken the right sense with the mist of their Sophistry, and so entangle them which rebuked or despised their abhominations, with arguments of Philosophie, and with worldlie similitudes, and apparant reasons of naturall wisdome: and with wresting the scripture unto

vnto their owne purpose, contrarie unto the processe, order and meaning of the text, would so delude them in descanting upon it with Allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in manie senses laide before the unlearned laie people, that though thou felt in thy heart, and wert sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst thou not solve their subtile riddles.

For these and such other considerations, this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up of God) to translate the scripture into his mother tongue, for the publicke utilitie and profit of the simple vulgar people of the country: first setting in hand with the new Testament, which hee first translated [5] about the yeare of our Lord 1527. After

[5] *Which hee first translated.*] More correctly, in the year 1526. For we find by a Mandate issued by Archbishop Warham to the Suffragan Bishops of his Province, bearing date Nov. 3, in that year, that there were copies of two editions at the least, some with, others without marginal annotations, then in circulation: for all which he directs inquisition to be made, and that the copies be immediately burned. In the same Mandate, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, and *An Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans*, all written by William Tindall, together with several more English Tracts, and others in Latin by Luther, Zuinghius, Brentius, &c. are prohibited. Wilkins's *Concilia*, Vol. III. p. 706, 707.

It was probably about the latter end of the year 1526, or in the next year, that a large parcel of these New Testaments were burnt at St. Paul's Cross by the order of Bishop Tonstal; of which Fox gives the following account.

"The New Testament began first to be translated by William Tyndall, and so came forth in print, about the yeere of our Lord 1529 (15 6): wherewith Cuthbert Tonstall Bishop of London, with Sir Thomas More, being sore agreeved, devised how to destroy that false erroneous translation, as he called it. It happened that one Augustin Packington a Mercer, was then at Antwerp, where the Bishop was. This man favoured Tyndall, but shewed the contrarie unto the Bishop. The

After that he took in hand to translate the olde Testament, finishing the five bookes of Moses,

The Bishop being desirous to bring his purpose to passe, communed how that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said; "My Lord, I can doe more in this matter than most Merchants that be here, if it bee your pleasure. For I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tyndall, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your Lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I can not have them: and so I will assure you to have everie booke of them that is printed and unsold." The Bishop thinking he had the matter secured, said, "Doe your diligence, gentle Master Packington; get them for me, and I will pay whatsoever they cost: for I intend to burne and destroy them all at Paules Cross." This Augustine Packington went unto William Tindall, and declared the whole matter; and so upon compact made betweene them, the Bishop of London had the bookes, Packington the thankes, and Tyndall had the money. After this, Tindall corrected the same New Testaments againe, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thicke and threefold over into England. When the Bishopp perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, "How commeth this that there are so many New Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would buy them all." Then answered Packington, "Surely I bought al that was to be had. But I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never bee better, so long as they have letters and stamps: wherefore you were best to buy the stamps too; and so you shall be sure." At which answere the Bishop smiled: and so the matter ended.

In short space after it fortuned, that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, which was then Chancellour of England, suspected of certaine heresies. During the time that he was in the custodie of Master More, after divers communications, amongst other things Master More asked of him saying, "Constantine I would have thee be plaine with mee in one thing that I will aske, and I promise thee I will shew thee favour in all other things, whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea Tindall, Joye, and a great many of you; I know they cannot live without helpe; There are some that helpe and succour them with money, and thou being one of them hadst thy parte thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I praye thee tell me, who be they that helpe them

Moses [6], with sundry most learned and godly prologues prefixed before every one, most worthy to be read and read againe of all good Christians: as the like also he did upon the new Testament.

He wrote also divers other workes under sundry titles, amongst the which is that most worthy monument of his, intituled, *The obedience of a christian man:* wherein with singular dexterity he instructeth all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; with divers other treatises, as, *The wicked Mammon; The practice of prelates* with expositions upon certaine parts of the Scripture, and other bookes also answering to sir Thomas More and other adversaries of the truth, no lesse delectable, then also most fruitfull to be read: which partlie before being unknowne unto many, partly also being almost abolished and worne out by time, the printer hereof (good Reader) for conserving and restoring such singular treasures, hath collected and set forth [7] in print in one generall volume, all and

them thus?" "My Lorde," quoth Constantine, "I will tell you truly: it is the Bishop of London, that hath holpen us; for he hath bestowed amongst us a great deal of monie upon New Testaments to burn them, and that hath bene and yet is our onlie succour and comfort." "Now by the truth," quoth More, "I think even the same; for so much I tolde the Bishop, before he went about it." Fox's *Acts*. p. 929.

[6] *The five bookes of Moses.*] This translation of the Pentateuch was printed A. D. 1530. It was done from the Hebrew. In the following year he published, with a large Prologue prefixed, a translation of the Prophet Jonah; which compleats the catalogue of Tindall's performances in translating the Scriptures. In 1535 Coverdale, building upon what had before been done by Tindall, first published the whole Bible in English, dedicating it to King Henry VIII. See Lewis's *Hist. of the English Translations of the Bible*, p. 72 &c. edit. 1739.

[7] *Collected and set forth.*] The book was published in folio, with a Preface by John Fox, under the following Title. "*The whole workes of W. Tyndall, John Frith, and Doctor Barnes,* . . . *three*

and whole together; as also the workes of John Frith, Barnes and other, as are to be seene most speciall and profitable for thy reading.

These bookes of W. Tindall being compiled, published and sent over into England, it cannot be spoken what a doore of light[8] they opened to the eies

three worthy Martyrs and principall teachers of this Churche of England, collected and compiled in one tome together, beyng before scattered. &c. London, printed by John Daye, an. 1573."

[8] *What a doore of light.*] Many of the tracts of Tindall, it is certain, may still be read with great pleasure and profit. If we except Sir Thomas More, he was the ablest English writer of his time. Of one of his best and most popular works, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, Strype has preserved an anecdote so interesting, that I should do wrong, if I did not assign a place to it in these pages.

"Upon the Lady Anne" *(Boleyn)* "waited a fair young Gentlewoman, named Mrs. Gainsford; and in her service was also retained Mr. George Zouch, Father to Sir John Zouch. This Gentleman, of a comely sweet person, a Zouch indeed, was a suitor in way of marriage to the said young Lady: and among other love tricks, once he plucked from her a book in English, called Tyndall's *Obedience*, which the Lady Anne had lent her to read. About which time the Cardinal had given commandment to the Prelates, and especially to Dr. Sampson, Dean of the Kings Chapel, that they should have a vigilant eye over all People for such books, that they came not abroad; that so much as might be, they might not come to the Kings reading. But this which he most feared fell out upon this occasion. For Mr. Zouch (I use the words of the MS.) was so ravished with the spirit of God speaking now as well in the heart of the reader, as first it did in the heart of the Maker of the Book, that he was never well, but when he was reading of that book. Mrs. Gaynsford wept because she could not get the book from her lover; and he was as ready to weep to deliver it. But see the providence of God! Mr. Zouch standing in the Chapel before Dr. Sampson, ever reading upon this book, and the Dean never having his eye off the book in the Gentlemans hands, called him to him, and then snatched the book out of his hand, asked his name, and whose Man he was. And the book he delivered to the Cardinal. In the mean time the Lady Anne asked her Woman for the Book. She on her

eies of the whole English nation, which before were many yeeres shut up in darknesse.

At

her knees told all the circumstances. The Lady Anne shewed herself not sorry nor angry with either of the two. But, said she, "Well, it shall be the dearest book that ever the Dean, or Cardinal took away." The noble woman goes to the King, and upon her knees she desireth the Kings help for the book. Upon the Kings token the book was restored. And now bringing the book to him, she besought his Grace most tenderly, to read it. The King did so, and delighted in the book. "*For*," saith he, "*This book is for me and all Kings to read.*" And in a little time the King, by the help of this virtuous Lady, by the means aforesaid, had his eyes opened to the truth, to search the Truth, to advance Gods religion and glory, to abhor the Popes Doctrine, his lies, his pomp and pride, to deliver his subjects out of the *Egyptian* Darkness, the *Babylonian* Bonds, that the Pope had brought him and his subjects under. And so contemning the threats of all the world, the power of Princes, rebellions of his subjects at home, and the raging of so many and mighty Potentates abroad, he set forward a reformation in religion, beginning with the triple-crowned Head at first, and so came down to the members, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and such like." Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, Vol. I. p. 112.

Fox has given us an account of the manner in which another very celebrated reforming book fell into the King's hands, and of other attendant circumstances, which I shall also beg leave to introduce. I apprehend that these anecdotes point out more truly the intertexture of the events, and the progress of the Reformation than many long discourses. The book was the *Supplication of Beggars*, which was answered, in the year 1529, by Sir Thomas More, then Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, in a tract intitled The *Supplication of Souls in Purgatory*. Works. p. 288—339.

"Mr. Simon Fish was a gentleman of Grayes Inne. It happened the first yeare that this gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1525, that there was a certaine play or interlude made by one Mr. Roo of the same Inne, gentleman, in which play was matter against the Cardinall Wolsey. And where none durst take upon them to play that parte, which touched the said Cardinall, this foresaid Master Fish tooke upon him to do it; whereupon great displeasure ensued against him, upon the Cardinals part: Insomuch

At his first departing out of the realm, he tooke his journey into the further parts of Germany, as into

somuch as he being pursued by the said Cardinal, the said night that this tragedie was played, was compelled of force to voide his owne house, and so fled over the sea unto Tyndall. Upon occasion whereof the next yeare following, this booke (the Supplication of Beggars) was made (being about the yeare 1527), and so not long after, in the yeare (as I suppose) 1528, was sent over to the Ladie Anne Bulleine, who then lay at a place not far from the court. Which booke her Brother seeing in her hande, tooke it and read it, and gave it her again, willing her earnestly to give it to the King, which thing she so did.

The King after he had received the booke, demanded of her who made it. Whereunto she answered and said, a certain subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the realme for fear of the Cardinall. After the King had kept the booke in his bosom three or four daies, as is crediblie reported, such knowledge was given by the Kings Servantes, to the wife of the said Simon Fish, that she might boldly send for her husband without all perill or danger. Whereupon she thereby being incouraged, came first and made sute to the King for the safe return of her husband. Who understanding whose wife she was, shewed a mervellous gentle and chearefol countenance towards her, asking where her husband was. She answered, "If it like your Grace not farre off." Then said he, "Fetch him, and he shall come and go safe without perill, and no man shall do him harme:" saying moreover, that he had much wrong that he was from her so long; who had beene absent now the space of two yeares and a halfe. In the which meane time, the Cardinal was deposed, as was afore shewed, and Master More set in his place of the Chancellorship.

Thus Fish's wife, being emboldened by the Kings words, went immediately to her husband, being lately come over, and lying privily within a mile of the court, and brought him to the King, which appeareth to be about the yeare of our Lord 1530. When the King saw him, and understood he was the author of the booke, he came and embraced him with loving countenance; who after long talke, for the space of three or foure houres, as they were riding together on hunting, at length dimitted him, and bade him take home his wife, for she had taken great paine for him. Who answered the King againe,

into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther, and other learned men in those quarters. Where after that he had continued a certain season, he came down from thence into the Neatherlands, and had his most abiding in the towne of Antwerpe, untill the time of his apprehension: whereof more shall be said God willing hereafter.

Amongst his other bookes wich he compiled, one worke he made also for the declaration of the sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar: the which he kept by him, considering how the people were not as yet fully perswaded in other matters tending to superstitious ceremonies and grosse idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet time was not come, to put forth that worke; but rather that it should

againe, and said, " he durst not so do, for feare of Sir Thomas More then Chancellor, and Stokesley then bishop of London." The King taking his signet off his finger, willed him to have him recommended to the Lord Chancellor, charging him not to be so hardie as to worke him any harme. Master Fish receiving the Kings signet, went and declared his message to the Lord Chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his owne discharge; but he asked him if he had any thing for the discharge of his wife; for she a little before had by chance displeased the friers, for not suffering them to say their gospels in *Latin* in her house, unlesse they would say it in *English*. Whereupon the Lord Chancellour, although he had discharged the man, yet leaving not his grudge towards his wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appeare before him, who, had it not been for her young daughter, who then lay sicke of the plague, had been like to come to much trouble: of the which plague, her husband, the said Master Fish deceasing within halfe a yeare, she afterward married one Master James Bainham, Sir Alexander Bainhams Sonne, a worshipfull knight of Gloucestershire: the which foresaid Master James Bainham, not long after was burned, as incontinently after in the processe of this storie shall appeare.

" And thus much concerning Simon Fish, the authour of the booke of beggars; who also translated a booke called the *Sum of the scripture* out of the Dutch." Fox's *Acts*. p. 924.

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hinder the people from other instructions, supposing that it would seeme to them odious to heare any such thing spoken, or set forth at that time, sounding against their great goddesse Diana, that is, against their masse, being had every where in great estimation, as was the goddesse Diana amongst the Ephesians whom they thought to come from heaven.

Wherefore M. Tindall being a man both prudent in his doings, and no lesse zealous in the setting forth of Gods holie truth, after such sort as it might take most effect with the people, did forbeare the putting forth of that worke, not doubting but by Gods mercifull grace, a time should come, to have that abhomination openly declared, as it is at this present day: the Lord almightie be alwaies praised therfore, Amen!

These godlie bookes of Tindall, and especially the new Testament of his translation, after that they began to come into mens hands, and to spread abroad, as they wrought great and singular profit to the godlie, so the ungodlie envying and disdaining that the people should be any thing wiser than they, and againe fearing least by the shining beames of truth, their false hypocrisie and workes of darkenesse should be discerned; began to stir with no small adoo, like as at the birth of Christ, Herode and all Jerusalem was troubled with him. But especially Sathan the Prince of darkeness, maligning the happie course and successe of the gospell, set to his might also, how to impeach and hinder the blessed travailes of that man: as by this, and also by sundry other waies may appeare. For at what time Tindal had translated the fift book of Moses called Deuteronomium, minding to print the same at Hamborough, he sailed thitherward; where by the way upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwracke,

shipwracke, by the which he lost all his bookes, writings and copies, and so was compelled to begynne all againe anew, to his hindrance and doubling of his labours. Thus having lost by that ship, both mony, his copies and time, he came in another ship to Hamborough, where at his appointment maister Coverdale taried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five bookes of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a worshipful widow, mistris Margaret Van Emmerson, anno 1529. a great sweating sicknesse being the same time in the towne. So having dispatched his businesse at Hamborough, he returned afterward to Antwerpe againe.

Thus as Sathan is, and ever hath been an enemie to all godlie endevors, and chiefely to the promoting and furtherance of Gods word, as by this and many other experiments may be seene; so his ministers and members following the like qualitie of their master, be not altogether idle for their parts; as also by the Popes Chaplaines and Gods enemies, and by their cruell handling of the said M. Tindall the same time, both here in England and in Flanders, may well appeare.

When Gods will was, that the newe Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tindall the Translator thereof added to the latter end a certaine Epistle, wherein he desired them that were learned to amend, if ought were found amisse. Wherefore if anie such default had beene, deserving correction, it had been the part of curtesie and gentlenesse, for men of knowledge and judgment to have shewed their learning therin, and to have redressed that was to be amended. But the spirituall fathers then of the clergy being not willing to have that booke to prosper, cried out upon it, bearing men in hand, that there were a thousand heresies

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in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be suppressed. Some said "it was not possible to translate the scripture into English; some that it was not lawefull for the laie people to have it in their mother tongue; some that it would make them all heretikes. And to the intent to induce the temporall rulers also unto their purpose, they made matter, and saide that it would make the people to rebell and rise against the King." All this Tindall himselfe in his owne prologue before the first booke of Moses declareth: and addeth further, shewing what great paines was taken in examining that translation, and comparing it with their owne imaginations and tearms, that with lesse labor (hee supposeth) they might have translated themselves a great part of the Bible: Shewing moreover, that they scanned and examined every tittle and point in the saide translation, in such sort and so narrowlie, that there was not one i therein, but if it lacked a pricke over his head, they did note it, and numbred it unto the ignorant people for an heresie. So great were then the froward devises of the English Clergy (who should have beene the guides of light unto the people) to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which neither they would translate themselves, nor yet abide it to be translated of others: to the intent (as Tindall saith) that the word being kept still in darknesse, they might sit in the consciences of the people through vaine superstition and false doctrine, to satisfie their lusts, their ambition, and unsatiable covetousnesse, and to exalt their owne honor above King and Emperor, yea and above God himselfe.

The bishops and prelates of the realme, thus (as ye have heard) incensed and inflamed in their minds, although having no cause, against the olde and newe

newe Testament of the Lord newly translated by Tindall, and conspiring together with all their heads and counsells, how to repeale the same, never rested before they had brought the king at last to their consent. By reason whereof a proclamation in all haste was devised and set forth under publike authoritie, but no just reason shewed, that the Testament of Tindals translation, with other works mo both of his and of other writers, were inhibited and abandoned, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1527. And yet not contented herwith, they proceeded further, how to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life. Which how they brought to passe, now it remaineth to be declared.

In the registers of London it appeareth manifest, how that the bishops and sir Thomas More having anie poore man under *Coram*, to be examined before them, namely, such as had beene at Antwerp, most studiously would search and examine all things belonging to Tindall, where and with whom he hosted, whereabouts stood the house, what was his stature, in what apparell he went, what resort he had, &c. All which things when they had diligently learned, then began they to worke their feates; as you shall heare by the relation of his owne Host.

William Tindall being in the towne of Antwerp, had bin lodged about one whole yeere in the house of Thomas Pointz an Englishman, who kept there an house of English Marchants. About which time came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Philips, his father being customer of Poole, a comely fellow, like as he had beene a gentleman, having a servant with him: but wherefore hee came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

Maister

Maister Tindall divers times was desired forth to dinner and supper among marchants; by the meanes whereof this Henry Philips became acquainted with him, so that within short space M. Tindall had a great confidence in him; and brought him to his lodging to the house of Thomas Pointz, and had him also once or twise with him to dinner and supper, and further entred such friendship with him that through his procurement, hee lay in the same house of the said Pointz; to whome he shewed moreover his bookes and other secrets of his studie; so little did Tindall then mistrust this traitor.

But Pointz having no great confidence in the fellowe, asked Maister Tindall how he came acquainted with this Philips. Maister Tindall answered, that hee was an honest man, handsomely learned, and very conformable. Then Pointz perceiving that he bare such favour to him, said no more, thinking that hee was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. The said Philips being in the towne three or foure daies, upon a time desired Pointz to walke with him forth of the Towne to shewe him the commodities thereof; and in walking together without the Towne, had communication of divers things, and some of the kings affaires: By the which talke Pointz as yet suspected nothing; but after by the sequele of the matter hee perceived more what hee intended. In the meane time this he well perceived, that hee bare no great favour, either to the setting forth of any good thing, either to the proceedings of the king of England. But after when the time was past, Pointz perceived this to be his minde, to feele if hee could perceive by him, whether hee might breake with him in the matter for lucre of money, to helpe him to his purpose: for he perceived before that he was monied, and would that Pointz should thinke

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no lesse: but by whome, it was unknowne. For he had desired Pointz before to helpe him to divers things; and such things as hee named, hee required might be of the best, "for," saide he, "I have money enough." But of this talke came nothing, but that men should thinke he had some things to do, for nothing else followed of his talke. So it was to be suspected, that Philips was in doubt to moove this matter for his purpose to any of the Rulers or Officers of the town of Antwerpe, for doubt it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and by the meanes thereof M. Tindall should have had warning.

So Philips went from Antwerpe to the Court of Bruxels, which is from thence twentie foure English miles, the King having there no Ambassador: for at that time the king of England and the Emperor were at a controversie, for the question betwixt the King and the Lady Katherine, which was Aunt to the Emperor: and the discord grew so much, that it was doubted least there should have bin warre betweene the Emperour and the king, so that Philips as a traitor both against God and the king, was there the better retained, as also other traitors moe besides him: who after he had betraied master Tindall into their hands, shewed himselfe against the kings own person, and there set forth things against the king. To make short; the said Philips did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to Antwerp the procuror generall, which is the Emperors atturney, with other certaine officers: as after followeth. The which was not done with small charges and expences, from whomsover it came.

Within a while after, Pointz sitting at his doore, Philips' man came unto him, and asked whether maister Tindall were there, and saide his maister

would come to him; and so departed. But whether his maister Philippes were in the towne or not, it was not knowne: but at that time Pointz heard no more, neither of the maister nor of the man. Within three or foure daies after, Pointz went forth to the town of Barrow, being 18. English miles from Antwerpe, where hee had businesse to doe for the space of a moneth or sixe weekes; and in the time of his absence, Henrie Philippes came againe to Antwerpe to the house of Pointz; and comming in, spake with his wife, asking her for master Tindall, and whether hee woulde dine there with him, saying; "What good meate shall wee have?" She answered, "such as the market will give." Then went hee forth againe (as it is thought) to provide; and set the Officers which he brought with him from Bruxelles, in the streete, and about the doore. Then about noone he came againe, and went to maister Tindall, and desired him to lend him 40. shillings, "for (said hee) I lost my purse this morning, comming over at the passage betweene this and Machelin." So maister Tindall took him 40. shillings, the which was easie to be had of him, if he had it: for in the wylie subtilties of this world he was simple and unexpert.

Then said Philips, "M. Tindall you shall be my guest here this day." No said M. Tindall, "I goe forth this day to dinner, and you shall goe with me and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner time, master Tindall went forth with Philippes, and at the going out of Pointz house, was a long narrow entrie, so that two could not goe in a front. M. Tindall would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wise, but put M. Tindall afore, for that he pretended to shew great humanitie. So master Tindall being a man of no great stature, went

went before, and Philippes a tall comely person followed behinde him, who had set officers on either side of the doore upon two seates; which being there, might see who came in the entrie: and comming through the same entrie, Philips pointed with his finger over M. Tindals head downe to him, that the Officers which sate at the doore, might see that it was he whome they should take; as the officers that tooke M. Tindall, afterward told Pointz, and saide to Pointz when they had laide him in prison, that they pittied to see his simplicitie when they tooke him. Then they tooke him and brought him to the Emperors Attourney or Procurer generall, where he dined. Then came the Procurer generall to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of M. Tindals, as well his books as other things: and from thence Tindall was had to the Castle of Filford, 18. English miles from Antwerpe, and there he remained untill he was put to death.

Then incontinent by the helpe of English Marchants, were letters sent in the favour of Tindall, to the Courte of Bruxels. Also not long after, letters were directed[9] out of England to the councell at Bruxels, and sent to the Marchants adventurers to Antwerpe, commaunding them to see that with speede they should be delivered.

But good Tindall could not escape their hands, but remained in prison still, who being brought unto his answere, was offered to have an advocate and a proctor: for in any criminall cause there, it shall be permitted to have counsaile, to make answere in the lawe. But hee refused to have anie

[9] *Letters were directed.*] "Letters sent from England by the Lord Cromwell and others, in the behalfe of Master Tindall." Fox.

such, saying, that he would answere for himselfe: and so hee did.

At last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by vertue of the Emperors decree made in the assemblie at Ausbrough; and uppon the same, brought forth to the place of execution, was there tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterward with fire consumed in the morning, at the towne of Filford. an. 1536. crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeale, and a loude voice, "*Lord, open the King of Englands eyes.*"

Such was the power of his doctrine, and sinceritie of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment (which endured a yeare and a half) it is said, he converted his keeper, his daughter, and other of his household. Also the rest that were with him conversant in the Castle, reported of him, that if he were not a good christian man, they could not tell whom to trust.

The procurator generall, the Emperours Attournie, being there, left this testimony of him, that he was "Homo doctus, pius, & bonus: that is, a learned, a good, and a godly man."

The worthy vertues and doings of this blessed Martyr, who for his painefull travailes, and singular zeale to his countrey, may be called in these our daies, an Apostle of England, it were long to recite. Amongst manie other, this because it seemeth to mee worthie of remembrance, I thought not in silence to overpasse, which hath unto me credibly beene testified by certaine grave Marchants, and some of them also such as were present the same time at the fact, and men yet alive. The story whereof is this.

There

There was at Antwerp on a time, amongst a companie of Marchants, as they were at supper, a certaine juggler, which through his diabolicall inchantments or Art Magicall, would fetch all kinds of viands, and wine from any place they would, and set it upon the table incontinent before them, with many other such like things. The fame of this juggler being much talked of, it chanced that as M. Tindal heard of it, he desired certaine of the Marchants, that he might also be present at supper to see him play his parts.

To be briefe, the supper was appointed, and the Marchants with Tindall were there present. Then the juggler being required to play his feates, and to shewe his cunning, after his wonted boldnesse began to utter all that he could doe, but all was in vaine. At the last, with his labour sweating and toyling, when he saw that nothing would go forward, but that all his enchantments were voide, hee was compelled openly to confesse, that there was some man present at supper, which disturbed and letted all his doings. So that a man even in the Martyrs of these our daies, cannot lacke the miracles of true faith, if miracles were now to be desired.

As concerning the workes and bookes of Tindall, which extend to a great number, thou wast tolde before (loving reader) how the printer hereof mindeth by the Lords leave, to collect them all in one volume together, and put them out in print. Wherefore it shall not greatlie at this time be needfull to make any severall rehearsall of them.

And as touching his translation of the new Testament, because his enemies did so much carpe at it, pretending it to bee so full of heresies, to answere therefore to their sclaunderous tongues and lying lips, thou shalt heare and understand, what faithfull

faithfull dealing, and sincere conscience he used in the same, by the testimonie and allegation of his owne words, written in his Epistle to John Frith, as followeth; "I call God to record against the daie we shall appeare before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods word against my conscience, nor would doe this daie, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches might be given me, &c."

And here to ende[1] and conclude this history with a few notes touchinge his private behaviour in dyet study and charitable zeale, and tender releiving of the poore. First, he was a Man verie frugale and spare of bodie, a great student, and earnest labourer, namely in the settinge forth of the scriptures of God. He reserved or hallowed to himselfe two dayes of the weeke, which he named his dayes of pastime; and those dayes were Monday, the first daye of the weeke, and Saturday the laste day in the weeke. In the Monday he visited all such poore Men and Women as were fled out of England, by reason of persecution unto Antwerp; and those, well understanding their good excercises and qualities, he did very liberally comfort and relieve: and in like manner provided for the sicke and diseased Persones. On the Saturday he walked rounde about the Towne in Antwerpe, seeking out every corner and hole where he suspected any poore Person to dwell, (as God knoweth there are many); and where he found any to be well occupied, and yet over burthened with Children, or else were

[1] *And here to ende.*] This paragraph the Editor has added from the conclusion of the Life of William Tindall, prefixed by John Fox to the edition of his works printed, along with the works of John Frith and Dr. Robert Barnes, by John Day in the year 1573.

aged,

aged, or weake, those also he plentifully releived. And thus he spente his two dayes of pastime, as he called them. And truly his Almes was very large and great: and so it might well bee: for his exhibition that hee had yearely of the Englishe Marchaunts was very much, and that for the most part he bestowed upon the poore, as aforesayde. The reste of the dayes in the weeke he gave himself wholy to his booke, wherein he most diligently travelled. When the Sunday came, then went he to some one Merchauntes Chamber, or other, whither came many other Merchauntes, and unto them would he reade some one parcel of Scripture, either out of the Old Testament or out of the New, the which proceeded so fruitefully, sweetely, and gentely from him (much like to the writing of Saint John the Evangelist) that it was a heavenly comfort and joy to the audience to heare him reade the Scriptures. And in like wise after dinner, he spente an houre in the afore sayd maner. He was a Man without any spot or blemishe of rancour or malice; full of mercy and compassion; so that no man living was able to reprove him of any kinde of sinne or crime; albeit his righteousness and justification depended not there upon before God, but onely upon the bloode of Christ, and his fayth upon the same; in the which faythe constantly he dyed, as is sayde, at Filforde, and now resteth with the glorious company of Christes Martyrs blessedly in the Lord; who be blessed in all his Saints! Amen. And thus much of W. Tyndall, Christes blessed Servaunt and Martyr."

A no-

A notable and woorthie Letter of Master William Tyndall, sent to John Frith, under the Name of Jacob.

" The grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekenesse, humblenesse, circumspection, and wisedome, be with your heart, Amen.

" Deerely beloved brother Jacob, mine harts desire in our Saviour Jesus is, that you arme your selfe with patience, and be cold, sober, wise, and circumspect, and that you keepe you alowe by the ground, avoiding hie questions that passe the common capacitie. But expound the law truly, and open the vaile of Moses to condemne all flesh, and proove all men sinners, and all deedes under the law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to bee sinne and damnable: and then as a faithfull minister, set abroach the mercie of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drinke of the water of him. And then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrits; and the spirit of God shall worke with you, and all consciences shall beare record unto you, and feele that it is so. And all doctrine that casteth a miste on those two, to shadow and hide them, I meane the law of God and mercie of Christ, that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification, refuse. If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help; though it be not necessarie.

" Of the presence of Christs bodie in the Sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appeare

peare no division among us. Barnes will bee hote[a] against you. The Saxons be sore on the affirmative, whether constant or obstinate, I remit it to God. Philip Melancthon is said to be with the French King. There being in Antwerpe that say, they saw him come into Paris with an hundred and fifty horses, and that they spake with him. If the French men receive the word of God, hee will plant the affirmative in them. George Joy would have put forth a treatise of that matter, but I have stopt him as yet: what he wil do if he get mony, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons little serving to the purpose. My mind is, that nothing be put foorth till we heare how you shall have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the presence to bee an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at leasure of both parties. If you be required, shew the phrases of the scripture, and let them talke what they will. For as to beleeve that God is everie where, hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where but within the heart, in spirit and veritie: even so to beleeve

[a] *Barnes will be hote.*] Dr. Robert Barnes, a zealous Lutheran in the doctrine of the Eucharist. He had spent a considerable time in Germany, and was intimately acquainted with Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, &c. Frith, who seems to have been a person of very extraordinary endowments, but was put to death when a very young man, wrote with surprizing perspicuity and vigour according to that doctrine, which was afterwards, under the influence of Cranmer and Ridley, restored as the established doctrine of the Church of England. Tindall during his abode in foreign parts had seen the calamitous effects which had been produced by the controversies on this subject between the two contending parties, which occasioned the first division between the *Lutheran*, and *Calvinistic* or *reformed* Churches, and was anxious to prevent the diffusion of the like evils into England. The Lutheran notion of consubstantiation never made much progress in this kingdom.

that

that the bodie of Christ is every where (though it can not bee prooved) hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where save in the faith of his Gospell. You perceive my mind: howbeit if God shew you otherwise, it is free for you to doe as he mooveth you.

" I ghessed long agoe, that God would send a dazing into the head of the spiritualtie, to catch themselves in their owne subtiltie, and I trust it is come to passe. And now me thinketh I smell a councell to bee taken, little for their profites in time to come. But you must understand, that it is not of a pure heart and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the whores flesh, and to sucke the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave fast to the rocke of the helpe of God, and commit the end of all things to him: and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisedome of the worldly, as farre as you perceive the glorie of God may come thereof, refuse it not: and ever among, thrust in, that the Scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the Universities. But and if ought bee required contrarie to the glorie of God and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit your selfe to God, and be not overcome of mens persuasions, which happely shall say: We see no other way to bring in the truth.

" Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart, there liveth not in whome I have so good hope and trust, and in whom mine heart rejoyceth and my soule comforteth her selfe, as in you: not the thousand part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as that you will creepe alowe[3] by

[3] *Creepe alowe.*] Compare this word with its opposite *a-loft.* So in Pierce Ploughmans Vision. fol. 63. edit. 1550.

And

by the ground, and walke in those things that the conscience may feele, and not in the imaginations of the braine: in feare, and not in boldnesse: in open necessarie things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither helpe or hinder whether they be so or no; in unitie, and not in seditious opinions: insomuch that if you bee sure you know, yet in things that may abide leasure, you will deferre, or say (till other agree with you), "Mee thinke the text requireth this sense or understanding." Yea and that if you bee sure that your part be good, and an other hold the contrarie, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it passe, and referre the thing to other men; and stick you stiffely and stubburnely in earnest and necessarie things. And I trust you be perswaded even so of me. For I call God to record against the day we shall appeare before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods word against my conscience, nor would this day if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might bee given mee. More-

And willest of birds and beasts hir breeding to know,
Why some be *a-lowe*, and some *a-loft*.—

Compare also Ploughman's Complaint, Fox's Acts. p. 371. "It is thy saying, 'Those that *hyeth* himself shoulde be *lowed*, and those that *lowethe* themselves should be *anheyghed*.'"

Respecting Frith's admirable prudence and moderation in the doctrine of the Eucharist, and on the opinions of Dr. Barnes the Reader may consult Fox's *Acts*. p. 943. Tindall himself has given many proofs of the same temper in the course of his valuable writings; not only on the points in dispute in connexion with that article, which of all the controversies at the æra of the Reformation were most fully and warmly debated; but also upon the abstruse and thorny questions respecting Grace and Predestination.

over,

over, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God to my selfe in this world, no more than that without which I can not keepe his lawes.

" Finally, if there were in mee any gift that could helpe at hand, and aide you if need required; I promise you I would not bee farre off, and commit the ende to God; my soule is not faint, though my bodie be wearie. But God hath made me evill favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechlesse and rude, dull and slowe witted: your part shall bee to supply that lacketh in me; remembring, that as lowlinesse of hart shall make you high with God, even so meekenesse of words shall make you sinke into the harts of men. Nature giveth age authoritie, but meekenesse is the glorie of youth, and giveth them honour. Aboundance of love maketh me exceede in babbling.

" Sir, as concerning Purgatorie, and many other things, if you be demaunded, you may say, " If you erre, the spiritualtie hath so led you, and that they have taught you to beleeve as you doe. For they preached you all such things out of Gods word, and alleaged a thousand texts, by reason of which texts you beleeved as they taught you. But now you finde them liars, and that the texts meane no such things, and therefore you can beleeve them no longer; but are as ye were before they taught you, and beleeve no such thing: howbeit you are readie to beleeve, if they have any other way to proove it[4], for without proofe you cannot beleeve them,

[4] *Any other way to proove it.*] It is not to be doubted but that the advocates of this doctrine, though they might be beaten out of Scripture, had still other proofs to produce for the maintenance of their cause. A fit of the Gout, be it known,

them, when you have found them with so many lies, &c." If you perceive wherein we may helpe, either in being still, or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will doe mine uttermost.

"My Lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with a red beard, and a blacke reddish head, and was once my scholler; he was seene in Antwerpe, but came not among the English men; whither hee is gone an Embassadour secret I wot not.

"The mightie God of Jacob be with you to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph; and the wisedome, and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answere to all things. Hee is our God if we despaire in our selves, and trust in him: and his is the glorie, Amen. (A. D. 1533).

William Tyndall.'

I hope our redemption is nigh."

known, is a good demonstration of Purgatory. Or rather, the Knights of Purgatory were armed *cap a pe*, and if the *hedd* did fail, yet (as happens with other Knights occasionally in similar circumstances of distress) they had a weight of argument in the *toe* which was irresistible.

"Purgatory *is proved* by example of a Byshop that was vexed with a hete in his feete that none might refreshe them. It happed in sommer on a day as fyshers fyshed in the sea, they caught a great yse, the whiche they bare to the Byshop, and put it under his feete a certayne houre; and then the Byshop harde a voyce that complayned, the which he adjured; and it aunswered and sayd, "I am the soule of a Preest that suffereth here my purgatory; and if thou were in the state of grace, and sayde an hundred masses for me, I shuld be delivered and saved;" *the which was done.*" *Shepherd's Calendar*, signat. M 6. edit. 1556.

CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX.

AT length Truth shot its ray into this chaos of disordered reason. But it came not directly from its source; but from the ferment of such passions as error and corruption are apt to raise amongst those who govern in, and benefit by, that state of confusion. For when a Reform happens to arise from within, it cannot be supposed to have its birth in a *love* of truth; hardly in the *knowledge* of it. Generally some oblique passion gratifies itself in decrying the grosser corruptions, supported by, and supporting, those it hates. The machine thus set a going, Truth has fair play: she is now at liberty to procure friends and to attach them to her service. This was the course of things in the Revolution we are about to speak of; and is the natural rise and progress of religious Reformations in general. For if, in the state of such established error, Providence was to wait, till a love of Truth had set men upon shaking off their bondage, its dispensations could never provide that timely aid which we now find they always do to distressed Humanity. For when the corruption hath spread so wide, as to make Truth, if by chance she could be found, an indifferent object; what is there left, to enable men to break their fetters, but the clashing interests of the corruption itself? And it is knowing as little of the *religious*, as of the *moral* course of God's Providence, to upbraid those, who have profited of this blessing, with the baseness of the instruments that procured it.

BISHOP WARBURTON.

CROMWELL, EARLE OF ESSEX.

THOMAS CROMWELL although borne of a simple parentage, and house obscure, through the singular excellencie of wisdome and dexteritie of wit wrought in him by God, coupled with like industrie of minde and desertes of life, rose to high preferment and authoritie; in so much that by steps and staires of office and honour, he ascended at length to that, that not onely he was made Earle of Essex, but also most secret and deare counsellour to king Henry, and Vicegerent unto his person; which office hath not commonly beene supplyed, at least not so fruitfully discharged, within this Realme.

First as touching his birth[1], he was borne at Putney or therabout, being a Smiths sonne, whose mother

[1] *As touching his birth.*] Cardinal Pole has treated Cromwell with great severity in his *Apologia ad Carolum Quintum Cæsarem.* The invective is long: but is too much to our purpose to be altogether passed by. The occasion upon which it is introduced is in declaring the influence and intrigues of Cromwell respecting the Divorce of Henry VIII. from Q. Catharine.

—— Si nomen quæratur, Cromvellum eum appellant; si genus, de nullo quidem ante eum, qui id nomen gereret, audivi. Dicunt tamen, viculum esse prope Londinum, ubi natus erat, et ubi pater ejus pannis verrendis victum quæritabat; sed de hoc parum refert. Nunc si conditio quæratur, sic quidem de eo intellexi, aliquem in Italia fuisse gregarium militem; fuisse etiam mercatorem, nec tamen longius progressum in mercatura fuisse, quam ut scriba esset mercatoris, et libros rationum

mother married after to a shyreman. In the simple estate and rude beginnings of this man (as of divers other before him) wee may see and learne that the excellencie of noble vertues and heroicall prowesses, which advance to fame, and honor, stand not only upon birth and bloud, as priviledges only intailed and appropriate to noble houses; but are disposed indifferently and proceede of the gift of God, who

tionum servaret; optime vero novi illum mercatorem, qui Venetus erat natione, cui operas suas locabat. Tandem hujus conditionis pertæsus, domum reversus, causidicis se immiscuit, his qui jura regni profitentur: in quo eo magis se proficere sperabat, quod versuti et callidi ingenii siby conscius esset ad defendendum tam iniquum, quam æquum, quod ex externorum commercio valde acuerat, cum nostrorum hominum ingeniorum simplicitatem semper contemneret. Nec tamen in hoc genere valde crevit, antequam ad Monasteriorum ruinam perventum est. Quod incœpit vivente adhuc Cardinali Eboracense, dum Monasteria quædam pene a suis deserta, et illorum bona ac prædia in subsidium pauperum, qui in Gymnasiis literis operam dabant, essent conversa. Hic vero notus esse cœpit, idque ostendit, ad hanc artem solum se natum fuisse, ad ruinam et vastationem, id quod crebra aliarum artium mutatio declaravit, in quibus nihil crevit, in hac vero statim celebris esse cœpit, et pluribus notus; ita tamen in illis initiis artis suæ notus, ut cum Cardinalis, cujus assecla fuit, et ex cujus authoritate et imperio illam suam artem exercebat, ab administratione Reipublicæ remotus esset, et dignitate privatus, ipse omnium voce, qui aliquid de eo intellexerant, ad supplicium posceretur. Hoc enim affirmare possum, qui Londini tum adfui, et voces audivi, adeo etiam ut per civitatem universam rumor circumferretur, eum in carcerem fuisse detrusum, et propediem productum iri ad supplicium. Neque vero hoc effugisset, nisi Dei in regem justissima ira, hujus vitam Satanæ dedisset. &c. *Epistolæ Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis*, Vol. I. p. 126. Brixiæ. 1744. In the same Apology, Pole gives a curious account of an interview which he had with Cromwell, in the house of Cardinal Wolsey, about the year 1529, in which Cromwell sounded him on his dispositions with regard to Henry's divorce, and strenuously recommended to Pole for his instruction in politics and the knowledge of courts, the famous book of Machiavelli, *De Principe*. Ibid. p. 133—138.

raiseth

raiseth uppe the poore abjecte manie times out of the dunghill, and matcheth him in throne with Peeres and Princes. (Psal. 113.)

As touching the order and manner of his comming up, it would be superfluous to discourse what may bee said at large: only by way of storie it may suffice to give a touch of certaine particulars, and so to proceede.

Although the humble condition and povertie of this man was at the beginning (as it is to many other) a great let and hinderaunce for vertue to shewe her selfe, yet such was the activitie and forwarde ripenes of nature in him, so pregnant in wit and so readie he was, in judgement discreet, in tongue eloquent, in service faithfull, in stomacke couragious, in his penne active, that being conversant in the sight of men, he could not long be unespied, nor yet unprovided of favour and helpe of friends to set him forward in place and office. Neither was any place or office put unto him, whereunto hee was not apt and fit. Nothing was so harde which with witte and industry hee could not compasse. Neither was his capacitie so good, but his memorie was as great in retaining whatsoever he had attained. Which well appeareth in canning the text of the whole new testament of Erasmus' translation without book, in his journey going and comming from Rome: wherof ye shall heare anone.

Thus in his growing yeares, as hee shot up in age, and ripenes, a great delight came in his minde to stray into forraine countries, to see the world abroad, and to learne experience, whereby hee learned such tongues and languages, as might better serve for his use hereafter.

And thus passing over his youth, being at Antwerpe, he was there retained of the English Mar-

chants to be their Clarke or Secretarie, or in some such like condition placed pertaining to their affaires.

It happened the same time, that the Towne of Boston thought good to send up to Rome, for renuing of their two pardons, one called *the great pardon*, the other *the lesser pardon*. Which thing although it should stand them in great expenses of mony (for the popes Marchandise is alwaies deare ware) yet notwithstanding such sweetnes they had felt thereof, and such gaine to come to their Towne by that Romish Marchandise (as all superstition is commonly gainefull) that they like good Catholicke Marchants, and the popes good customers, thought to spare for no coste, to have their leases again of their pardons renewed, whatsoever they paide for the fine. And yet was al this good Religion then: such was the lamentable blindnes of that time.

This then beeing so determined and decreede amongst my countrimen of Boston, to have their pardons needs repaired and renued from Rome, one Geffrey Chambers with another companion was sent, for the messengers, with writings and mony, no small quantitie, well furnished, and with all other things appointed necessarie for so chargeable and costly exploit; who comming in his journey to Antwerpe, and misdoubting himselfe to be too weake for the compassing of such a waightie piece of worke, conferred and perswaded with Thomas Cromwel to associate him in that legacie, and to assist him in the contriving thereof. Cromwell although perceiving the enterprise to be of no small difficultie, to traverse the popes court, for the unreasonable expences amongst those greedy cormorants, yet having some skill of the Italian tongue, and as yet not grounded in the judgement of religion

gion in those his youthfull daies, was at length obtained and content to give the adventure, and so tooke his journey towards Rome. Cromwell loth to spend much time, and more loth to spend his mony; and againe perceiving that the popes greedy humor must needs be served with some present or other (for without rewards there is no doing at Rome) began to cast with himselfe, what thing best to devise, wherein he might best serve the popes devotion.

At length, having knowledge how that the popes holy tooth greatly delighted in new fangled strange delicates, and daintie dishes, it came in his minde to prepare certaine fine dishes of jellie, after the best fashion, made after our country maner heere in England, which to them of Rome was not known nor seene before.

This done, Cromwell observing his time accordingly, as the pope was newly come from hunting into his pavillion, hee with his companions approached with his English presentes brought in with a three mans song (as we call it) in the English tongue, and all after the English fashion. The pope sodainely marvailing at the strangenes of the song, and understanding that they were English men, and that they came not emptie handed, willed them to be called in. Cromwell there shewing his obedience, and offering his jolly junkets, such as Kings and Princes onely (said he) in the Realme of England use to feede upon, desired the same to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and his companions as poore sutors unto his holinesse, had there brought and presented, as novelties meete for his recreation.

Pope Julius seeing the strangenesse of the dishes, commanded by and by his Cardinall to take the assay. Who in tasting thereof, liked it so well, and

so likewise the pope after him, that knowing of them what their suites were, and requiring them to make knowne the making of that meate, hee incontinent without any more adoe, stamped both their pardons, as well the greater as the lesser.

And thus were the jolly pardons of the towne of Boston obtained as you have heard, for the maintenance of their decaied port. The copie of which pardons (which I have in my hands) brieflie comprehended, commeth to this effect[2]. "That all the brethren and sisters of the gylde of our Lady in Saint Botulphes church at Boston, should have free licence to chuse for their confessor or ghostly father, whom

[2] *To this effect.*] In Becon's Reliques of Rome, Works Vol. III. fol. 358 &c. may be found a collection of several other pardons, similar to these granted to the Town of Boston. But omitting them, I shall only produce, because it is not long, the account given by Strype, in his Life of Sir Thomas Smith, p. 60, of one granted, so late as the year 1555, to William Smythick, Esq.; the privileges of which, being imparted by him to Sir Thomas, were, as Strype conjectures, his security in those days of peril, and bitter persecution.

"It was, that he and any five of his friends, whom he should nominate, with their children of both sexes, should be exempted, from all sentences of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, and other censures ecclesiastical, upon whatever occasion or cause inflicted; transgressions of any vows, or commands of the Church; guilt of perjuries, and homicide, whether casual or mental; laying violent hands upon any ecclesiastical persons, excepting Prelates; omissions in whole or in part of Fasts, Canonical Hours, Divine Offices, and Penances injoined: also from all and singular their sins whereof they are contrite and confessed, although they were such as for which the Apostolick See were to be consulted. Likewise many other indulgences were by virtue hereof granted; as, to have a portatile Altar, to receive the Sacrament privately; that in Lent, and other fasting times of the year, they might eat Eggs, Butter, Cheese, and other Milk-meats, and Flesh, without scruple of conscience.—Smythick chose Sir Thomas Smith for one of his five Friends, specified in the Bull, to be partaker

whom they would [3], either secular priest, or religious person, to assoile them plenarilie from al their

of these Catholick privileges.—This, no question, was a good skreen for Sir Thomas in these evil days." In Ames's Typographical Antiquities, under the name William Faques (p. 134.), may be found, at full length, the patent of admission of one Richard Woolman into all the benefits of these Boston pardons. The writing bears date, Boston, 10. Decemb. A. D. 1508.

[3] *Whom they would.*] This privilege, though it was productive of very great spiritual, as well as temporal, abuses, was one that was very frequently granted by the See of Rome. It was the main source from which the Friers derived their influence, amassed their wealth, and loosened the bonds of union between the secular Clergy and their Parishioners. Among *them* a man would seldom fail to find *such* a Confessor as is described by Chaucer.

> —He had power of confessyoun
> As he said himself, more than a Curate,
> For of his order he was licentiate.
> *Full swetely herde he confession,*
> *And pleasant was his absolucion.*
> *He was an easie man to give penaunce,*
> *There as he wist to have a good pitaunce.* Prologue to Canterbury Tales.

The nature of those corruptions which this privilege introduced, may be further estimated from the extracts which follow. They are taken from the *Quatuor Sermones*, added to the Festival in the later Editions, and in parts of them shew some tendencies towards reformation.

Confession "must also be hole; not *some to one, and some to another.* This is a grete spece *(species)* of hypocrysye; and this useth moche people; and all for they wolde be holde holy, and better then they ben." fol. 185. b. "The thyrde sacramente is shrifte of penaunce, to the which every man and woman is bounde anon as they can *(know)* reasonable wytte, atte twelve yere, every yere clene to be shryven, once atte the least, atte theyr own Curate . . . Yet notwithstondyng that ye ben bounde every yere to shew youre shryft to your owne Curate, and yf there ben ony of you that have more affeccyon to another than to me, let me wete *(know)* to whome and where, and he shal have ryghte good leave, and Crystes blessyng and mine:

their sins, except only in cases reserved to the pope.

" Also should have licence to carie about with them an aultar stone[4] whereby they might have a priest to saie them masse, or other divine service, where they would, without prejudice of any other

so that he do it not in no deceit of his owne soule, as to hyde his synne from me, to that entent he myght the longer abyde therein; as some done, and have done many yeres. For I knowe more of theyr counsell, than they wene that I do, or wolde I dyd ... Thus some of you ones a yere, or *(ere)* ye come to youre Curate, ye caste out the venym of your synne at Pardons, and other privy places, and anon after Easter ye take it up agen; as theft, adultery, and many suche other, and ben worse after than ye were afore. Ye that this done begyle your selfe, and nede grete penaunce. Had Judas whan he betrayed Chryste tolde his synne to his true herdman *(pastor)* as he did to Cayphas and Pilate, whan he sayd, *I have synned in betrayenge ryghtwyse blode*, he had ben saved. For they toke none hede therto, but sayd, *What is that to us? avyse thee;* as who sayth, they have no cure of thee. Ryght so thus, I trowe and some of you wente to your owne herdman, *whan ye go to other*, thenne sholde brybery, stolen goodes, and suche other be restored: and adultery, and other cursed synnes be thus destroyed. I say not this for no desyre that I have to here your shryft, for it is but a payne to me, save for charge that I have of your soules. For I had lever mynyster all the sacramentes that longeth to myn offyce forty tymes; than that ones. But I doo it for to dystroye the false subtylte that ye use in shryfte agaynst the helthe of your soules: And so God helpe me." fol. 169.

[4] *An aultar stone.*] A portable altar, called in Latin, altare *viaticum*, or alt. *portatile*. " This was some real stone, insigned with the Cross, and duly consecrated; and to be of such a length and breadth, as might conveniently hold the holy Cup, and consecrated Host; with an apt frame of wood, whereon to set it .... They were very rarely granted but by the Pope himself, or his Penitentiary." Staveley's *Hist. of Churches in England*. p. 214. Weever in his *Funeral Monuments* exemplifies a Bull of Pope Martin the Vth. indulging the privilege of an Altar of this description to the English Merchants of the Staple at Calais. p. 133. edit. 1767. in *Deptford*.

church

church or chappell, though it were also before day, yea and at three of the clock after midnight in the summer time.

" Furthermore, that all such brethren and sisters of the said gylde, which should resort to the chappell of our Ladie in saint Botulphes church at the feast of Easter, Whitsontide, Corpus Christi, the nativitie or Assumption of our Ladie, or in the Octaves of them, the feast of S. Michaell, and first Sunday in Lent, should have pardon no lesse then if they themselves personally had visited the Stations of Rome[5].

" Provided that every such person man or woman, entring into the same gylde, at his first entrance should give to the finding of 7. priests, 12. Quiresters, and 13. Beadsmen, and to the lights of the same brotherhood, and a Grammar schole, six shillings eight pence, and for every yeare after twelve pence.

" And these premisses being before granted by pope Innocentius, and pope Julius 2. this pope Clement also confirmed, granting moreover, that whatsoever brother or sister of the same gylde through povertie, sicknesse, or any other let could not resort personally to the said chappell, notwithstanding hee should be dispensed withall, aswell for that, as for all other vowes, irregularities, censures canonicall whatsoever, onlie the vowe of going the Stations of Rome, and going to Saint James of Compostella excepted.

" He also granted unto them power to receive full remission, A pœna & culpa, once in their life, or in the houre of death.

[5] *The Stations of Rome.*] See Becon's *Works*. Vol. III. fol. 203—205. A. D. 1563.

" Item,

"Item, that having their aultar stone, they might have masse said in any place, though it were unhallowed. Also in the time of interdict, to have masse or any sacrament ministred: and also being departed, that they might be buried in christian buriall, notwithstanding the interdict.

"Extending moreover his grant, to all such brethren and sisters, in resorting to the foresaid chappell of our Ladie upon the Nativitie, or Assumption of our Lady, giving supportation to the said chappell, at every such festivall day, to have full remission of all their sins. Or if they for any impediment could not be present at the chappell aforesaid, yet if they came unto their owne parish church, and there said one *Pater noster*, and *Ave Maria*, they should enjoy the same remission above specified: or whosoever came every Friday to the same chappell, shuld have as much remission, as if he went to the chappel of our Ladie called *Scala Cœli*[6].

"Furthermore, that whatsoever christian people, of what estate or condition soever, either spirituall

[6] *Called Scala Cœli.*] At Rome, "in the Church of our Lady called *Scala Cœli*, is also great pardon. This is one of the first temples that was built in the world unto the honour of the blessed virgine Marye. It is called *Scala Cœli*, because in it blessed St. Bernard deserved to see a *ladder*, which reached up even unto the very heavens. In this Church whosoever say Masse, or cause Mass there to be said for the soules that are in Purgatory, the aforesaid soules are delivered out of hand, thorow the vertue of the Masse and the merites of the blessed Virgine. Moreover whatsoever thinge is devoutly asked in that place, it is strayghtwayes wythoute all doubte obtayned. And there is great abundance of pardon *a pœna et a culpa, toties quoties*." Becon's *Works*. Vol. III. fol. 202. fol. 202. Of the privileges of the Church of St. John Lateran at Rome, which is mentioned a little below, an ample account, containing many very curious particulars, may be found in the same Work. fol. 199, 200.

or

or temporall, would aid and support the Chamberlaines or substitutes of the foresaid gylde, should have five hundreth yeares of pardon.

" Item, to all brothers and sisters of the same gylde was granted free libertie to eate in time of Lent, or other fasting daies, egges, milke, butter, cheese, and also flesh, by the counsaile of ther ghostly father and physition, without any scruple of conscience.

" Item, that all partakers of the same gylde, and beeing supporters thereof, which once a quarter, or every Friday or Saturday, either in the said chappell in Saint Botulphs Church, or any other Chappell, of their devotion shall say a *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo*, or shall say or cause to be said Masses, for soules departed in paines of Purgatorie, shall not onely have the full remission due to them which visite the chappell of Scala Cœli, or of S. John Lateran; but also the soules in purgatorie shall enjoy full remission, and bee released of all their paines.

" Item, that all the soules departed of the brothers and sisters of the said gylde; also the soules of their fathers and mothers shall be partakers of all the praiers, suffragies, almoses, fastings, masses, and mattens, pilgrimages, and all other good deeds of the holy church militant for ever."

These indulgencies, pardons, grants, and relaxations were given and granted by Pope Nicholas the fift, Pope Pius 2. Pope Sixtus, and Pope Julius the second; of which Pope Julius it seemeth, that Cromwell obtained this pardon aforesaid, about the the yeare of our Lord 1510. Which pardon againe afterward through the request of king Henry, an. 1526. was confirmed by Pope Clement[7] the seventh.

[7] *Pope Clement*,] Of the Bull of this Pope, Becon gives a copious abstract, *Works*, Vol. III. fol. 359.

And

And thus much concerning the pardon of Boston, renewed by the meanes of Thomas Cromwell, of Pope Julius the second.

All this while it appeareth, that Cromwell had yet no sound taste nor judgement of Religion, but was wilde and youthfull, without sense or regard of God and his worde as hee himselfe was woont ofttimes to declare unto Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, shewing what a ruffian he was in his yong daies; and how he was in the wars of the duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome, also what a great doer he was with Geffrey Chambers in publishing and setting forth the pardon of Boston every where in Churches as hee went; and so continued, till at length by learning the text of the new Testament without booke of Erasmus' translation in his going and comming from Rome (as is aforesaid), he began to be touched and called to better understanding.

In this meane time Thomas Woolsey Cardinall of Yorke began to beare a great port in England, and almost to rule all under the king, or rather with the king; so that the freshest wits, and of best towardnesse, most commonly sought unto him. Among whome was also Thomas Cromwell to his service advanced; where he continued a certaine space of yeares, growing up in office and authoritie, till at length he was preferred to be sollicitour to the Cardinall.

There was also about the same time, or not much different, in the houshould of the said Cardinall, Thomas More, afterward knight and Chauncellor of England; and Steven Gardiner after bishop of of Winchester, and of the King's councell. All these three were brought up in one houshould, and all of one standing almost together. Whose ages as they were not greatly discrepant, nor their wits much

much unequal; so neither was their fortune and advancements greatly divers, albeit their dispositions and studies were most contrarie. And thogh peradventure in More and in Gardiner there was more arte of the letters, and skill of learning; yet notwithstanding there was in this man a more heavenly light of the minde, and more prompt and perfect judgement, eloquence equall, and as may be supposed, in this man more pregnant; and finally in him was wrought a more heroicall and princely disposition, borne to greater affaires in the common wealth, and to the singular helpe of many.

It happened that in this meane season, as Cromwell was placed in this office to be sollicitour to the Cardinall, the said Cardinall had then in hand the building of certaine colleges, namely his College in Oxford, called then Frideswide, now. Christs Church. By reason whereof, certain small monasteries and priories, in divers places of the realme, were by the said Cardinall suppressed, and the lands seased to the Cardinals hands. The doing whereof was committed to the charge of Thomas Cromwel. In the expedition whereof he shewed himselfe verie forward and industrious; in such sort as in the handling thereof, he procured to himselfe much grudge with divers of the superstitious sort, and with some also of noble calling about the king. And thus was Cromwell first set a worke[s] by the Cardinall,

[s] *Cromwell first set a worke.*] A list of the Monasteries dissolved for the erection of Cardinal College, Oxford, amounting in number to twenty, with the names of their Founders, and Values, is given in Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, Vol. I. p. 88. Appendix. The Pope's Bulls, and the King's Letters patents authorizing the dissolution are in great part published, along with other pertinent documents, by Dr. Fiddes in his Appendix of Records to the *Life of Wolsey*. See also Wilkins's *Concilia*, Vol. III. p. 705. &c.

This act of the Cardinal's, which gave the first employment of

Cardinall, to suppresse religious houses. Which was abont the yeare of our Lord, 1525.

As this passed on, it was not long, but the Cardinall which had gotten up so high, began to come down as fast, first from the Chancellorship, in which rome was placed Sir Thomas More; then he fell into a Premunire: So that his houshold being dissolved, Thomas Cromwell amongst other,

of that nature to Cromwell, and led the way to the utter overthrow of the Monasteries and other religious Houses, in which Cromwell was so important an agent, did not, as Fox indeed intimates, pass without severe animadversions, even while it was carrying into execution. King Henry himself, it appears, had too much good sense, not to be full of apprehensions respecting its illegality; as he writes in a Letter to the Cardinal: "As touching the help of Religious Houses to the building of your College, I would it were more, *so it were lawfully*: for my intent is none, but that it should appear so to all the world; and the occasion of all their mumbling might be secluded and put away. For surely there is great murmuring of it, throughout all the realm, both good and bad ... This grieveth me, I assure you, to hear it spoken of him, which I so entirely love." Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 378. edit. 2d.

A very few years after, when the grand overthrow was approaching, the precedent given by the Cardinal is adverted to in a passage, full of bitter reflections on the past, and trembling forebodings of the future, by Bishop Barlowe in his *Dialogue concerning the Lutheran factions*. The characters have been speaking of what had already been done of the like kind in Germany. "*Nicholas*. Oure Lorde forbyd that it shuld chaunce so here! *Wyllyam*. Yet lacke there not in England, that wyshe ful hartely after suche a ruffelyng chaunge; the more parte suche as hope to wyn, and have nothyng to lese; and yet some so mad that have of theyr owne, and whyche happely might repent it fyrst of all. *I let passe my Lord Cardinals acte in pullyng downe and suppressing of religious places, our Lord assoile his soule!* I will wrestle with no soules. *He knoweth by this tyme, whether he dyd well or evill.* But thys dare I be bolde to saye, that the countreis where they stode, fynde suche lacke of them, that they woulde be had let them stand. And thinke you then that there would be no lack founden, if the remanaunt were so served too?" signat. H 3. edit. 1553.

laboured

laboured also to be retained into the Kings service.

There was at the same time one Sir Christopher Hales Knight, master of the Rolles, who notwithstanding he was then a mighty Papist, yet bare he such favour and good liking to Cromwell that hee commended him to the king, as a man most fit for his purpose, having then to do against the Pope. But heere before is to be understoode, that Cromwell had greatly beene complained of, and diffaimed by certaine of authority about the King, for his rude maner and homely dealing in defacing the Monkes houses, and in handling of their altars, &c. Wherefore the king hearing of the name of Cromwell, began to detest the mention of him; neither lacked there some standers by, who with reviling words ceased not to increase and inflame the kings hatred against him. What their names were it shall not neede here to recite. Among other there present at the same hearing, was the Lord Russel Earle of Bedford, whose life Cromwel before had preserved at Bonony, through politike conveyance, at what time, the said Earle comming secretly in the Kings affaires, was there espied; and therefore being in great danger to be taken, through the meanes and policie of Cromwell escaped.

This Lord Russell therefore not forgetting the old benefites past, and with like gratuity willing againe to requite that hee had received, in a vehement boldnes stoode forth, to take upon him the defence of Thomas Cromwell, uttering before the King many commendable words in the behalfe of him, and declaring withall how by his singular devise and policy, he had done for him at Bononie, beeing there in the Kings affaires, in extreame perill. And for as much as now his Majesty had to doe with the Pope,

Pope, his great enemie, there was (he thought) in all England none so apt for the Kings purpose, which could say or doe more in that matter, than could Thomas Cromwell; and partly he gave the King to understand wherein. The King hearing this, and specially marking the latter ende of his talke, was contented and willing to talke with him, to heare and know what he could say.

This was not so privily done, but Cromwell had knowledge incontinent, that the King would talke with him, and whereupon: and therefore providing before hand for matter, had in a readinesse the copie of the bishops oath, which they use commonly to make to the Pope at their consecration: and so being called for, was brought to the King in his garden at Westminster, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1530.

Cromwell after most loyall obeysance, doing his dutie to the King, according as hee was demanded, made his declaration in all pointes, this especially making manifest unto his highnesse, how his princely authoritie was abused within his owne Realme, by the Pope and his Clergie; who being sworne unto him, were afterward dispensed from the same, and sworne anew unto the Pope; so that he was but as halfe king, and they but halfe his subjects in his owne land; which, said hee, was derogatorie to his crowne, and utterly prejudiciall to the common lawes of his Realme: Declaring thereupon how his Majestie might accumulate to himselfe great riches, so much as all the Clergie in his Realme was worth, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered. The King giving good care to this, and liking right well his advice, required if hee could avouch that which he spake. All this hee could (he said) avouch to be certaine, so well, as that hee had the copie of their owne

owne oath[9] to the Pope, there present to shew, and that nō lesse also he could manifestly proove. if

[9] *The copie of their owne oath.*] The authority usurped by the Bishops of Rome did not, in this point, any more than in so many other like instances, reach the height to which it had now attained, but by a long train of gradual and successful incroachments. Lewis, in his Life of Bishop Pecock, has given us some account of several of these oaths, differing from each other, in each successive century, hardly in any other respect, but in an increasing gradation of submissions to the Romish dominion. See p. 122—129. In Duck's *Life of Chichele*. p. 12. (Bates's edition), in Wilkins's *Concil.* Vol. III. p. 647. and in Strype's *Cranmer*. p. 9. Appendix, may be found the oaths taken severally by the Archbishops Chichele, Warham and Cranmer.—There were not wanting others about these times, who pressed upon Henry's mind the inconsistency of this oath with their allegiance to the King. See *Supplication* of Dr. Robert Barnes to *K. Henry VIII.* Works. p. 195, 200. &c. Soon after the interview with Cromwell, above related, the King made a communication upon this subject to the House of Commons, of which Fox gives the following particulars.

"Not long after that, the King perceiving belike the minds of the Clergy not much favouring his cause, sent for the Speaker and twelve of the Commons House, having with him eight Lords, and said to them, "Well-beloved subjects, we had thought the Clergy of our Realme had been our subjects wholly, but now we have well perceived, that they are but halfe our subjects: for all the prelates at their consecration make an oth to the Pope, cleane contrary to the oth that they make unto us, so that they seeme to be his subjects and not ours:" and so the King delivering to them the copie of the oth, required them to invent some other that he might not thus be deluded of his Spiritual subjects. The Speaker thus departed, and caused the oth to be read in the Commons house; the very tenor whereof here ensueth.

The oth of the Clergy to the Pope.

"I *John Bishop*, or *Abbot of A:* from this houre forward shall be faithful and obedient to Saint Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, to my Lord the Pope, and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of council or consent,

if his Highnesse woulde give him leave: and therewith shewed the Bishoppes oathe unto the King.

The King following the veine of his councell, tooke his ring off his finger, and first admitting him into his service, sent him therewith to the Convocation house among the Bishops. Cromwell comming with the kings signet boldly into the clergie house, and there placing himselfe among the Bishopps, (William Warham being then archbishop) began to make his Oration, declaring unto them the authoritie of a king, and the office of subjectes, and especially the obedience of Bishops and churchmen under publike lawes, necessarily

that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence, or any wrong by any meanes. Their counsell to me credited by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The Popedom of Rome, the rules of the holy Fathers, and the regalities of Saint Peter, I shal helpe and retaine, and defend against al Men. The Legate of the See apostolicke, both going and coming, I shal honourably entreate. The rightes, honours, priviledges, authorities of the Church of Rome, and of the Pope, and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shal not be in counsell, treaty, or any acte in which any thing shall be imagined against him or the Church of Rome; their rights, states, honours, or powers: and if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soone as I can, I shal advertize him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy Fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, depositions, reservations, provisions, or commandments apostolicke, to my power I shall keepe, and cause to be kept of other. Heretickes, Schismatickes and Rebels to our holy Father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The threshold of the Apostles I shall visite personally, or by my deputy. I shall not aliene or sell my possessions, without the Popes counsell. So God help me and the holy Evangelistes!" Fox's *Acts*. p. 961.

provided

provided for the profit and quiet of the commonwealth. Which lawes notwithstanding they had all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the kings royall estate, falling in the Lawe of *Premunire*, in that not onely they had consented to the power Legative of the Cardinall, but also in that they had all sworne to the Pope, contrarie to the fealtie of their Soveraigne Lord the king, and therefore had forfaited to the king all their goods, chattels, lands, possessions, and whatsoever livings they had. The bishops hearing this, were not a little amazed, and first began to excuse and deny the fact. But after that Cromwell had shewed them the very copy of their oathe made to the pope at their consecration, and the matter was so plaine, that they could not deny it, they began to shrinke, and to fall to intreatie, desiring respite to pause upon the matter. Notwithstanding, the ende thereof fell so out, that to be quit out of that *Premunire*[1], by Act of Parliament, it cost them to the king for both the provinces, Canturbury and Yorke, no lesse then one hundred eighteene thousand, eight hundred and forty pounds, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1530.

After this, an. 1532. Sir Thomas Cromwell growing in great favour with the King, was made knight and maister of the kings Jewell house, and shortly after was admitted also in the kings Councell, which was about the comming in of Queene Anne

[1] *Of that Premunire.*] See Fox's *Acts*. p. 959. Wilkins's *Concilia*. Vol. III. p. 725. 743. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.* Vol. I. p. 102—9. Edit. 4th. Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 61—63. But the most elaborate and satisfactory account of the whole of this famous transaction, with its connexions and dependencies, the overthrow of the Pope's and the enactment of the King's Supremacy, is given by Dr. Wake in his *State of the Church and Clergy of England*. p. 474. 480. &c.

Bullen. Furthermore, within two yeares after the same, an. 1534. he was made maister of the Rolles, Doctor Tailor being discharged.

Thus Cromwell springing up in favour and honour, after this, in the yeare, 1537. a little before the birth of King Edward, was made knight of the Garter, and not long after was advaunced to the Earledome of Essex, and made great Chamberlaine of England. Over and besides all which honours, he was constitute also Vicegerent to the king[a], representing his person. Which office although it standeth well by the lawe, yet seldome hath there beene seene any besides this Cromwell alone, either to have sustained it, or else to have so furnished the same with counsaile and wisedome, as Cromwell did. And thus much hitherto concerning the steppes and degrees of the Lord Cromwelles rising up to dignitie and high estate.

Now somewhat would be said likewise of the noble Actes, the memorable examples, and worthy vertues not drowned by ease of honour in him, but increased rather, and quickened by advaunсement of authoritie and place, to worke more aboundantly in the commonwealth. Among the which his worthy acts and other manifold vertues, in this one chiefely above all other riseth his commendation, for his singular zeale and laborious travell bestowed in restoring the true church of Christ, and subverting the Synagogue of Antichrist, the abbeies, I meane, and religious houses of Frier and Monkes. For so it pleased almighty God by the meanes of the said Lord Cromwell, to induce the King to sup-

[a] *Vicegerent to the King.*] His Commission to this appointment may be found in Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. II. Book. 2. No. 29. and in Wilkins's *Concilia*, Vol. III. p. 784. &c.

presse

presse first the Chauntries, then the Friers houses and small Monasteries, till at length all the abbeies in England both great and lesse, were utterly overthrowne and pluckt up by the rootes. The which act and enterprise of him, as it may give a president of singular zeale to all realmes christened, which no prince yet to this day scarse dare follow; so to this realme of England it wrought such benefite and commoditie, as the fruit thereof yet remaineth, and will remaine still in the realme of England, though we seeme little to feele it. Rudely and simply I speake what I suppose, without prejudice of other which can inferre any better reason. In the meane time my reason is this: that if God had not raised up this Cromwell as he did, to be the instrument of rooting out of the abbeies and celles of strange religion, what other men see, I know not; for my part I never yet saw in this Realme any such Cromwell since Cromwels time, whose heart and courage might not sooner have beene subverted with the money and bribes of Abbots, then he to have subverted any abbey in all England.

But here I must of necessitie answere the complaint of certain of our countrey men. For so I heare of many the subversion of these monasteries to be reprehended, as evill and wicked. "The building (say they) might have been converted unto Schooles and houses of learning. The goods and possessions might have beene bestowed to much better and more godly use of the poore, and maintaining of hospitaltie." Neither doe I deny, but that these things are well and godly spoken of them, and could willingly embrace their opinion with my whole hart, if I did not consider herein a more secret and deeper meaning of Gods holy providence,

vidence, than at the first blush peradventure to all men doth appeare.

And first to omit the wicked and execrable life of these religious orders, full of all feditie, and found out by the Kings visitours, and their registers also recorded, so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be beleeved, so stinking before the face of God and man, that no marvaile it is if Gods vengeance from heaven provoked, wold not suffer any stone or monument of these abhominable houses to be unplucked up. But (as I said, letting these things passe under chaste silence, which for very shame wil abhorre any story to disclose:) let us now come to the first institution of these orders and houses of Monkerie, and consider how and to what end they were first instituted and erected here among the Saxons, at the first foundation of them, about the time 666.

In the former part of this history, declaration was made before by whom, and at what time these Monkish houses here in England among the Saxons (flowing no doubt out of the order of S. Benet, and brought in by Augustine) began first to be founded, as by Augustine the Monke, Furseus, Medulphus, Aldanus, Leswinus Bishop of Dorcester, Dunstane and divers others.

The end and finall cause why they were builded, appeareth in stories to be, *pro remissione & redemptione peccatorum; pro remedio & liberatione animæ: pro amore cœlestis patriæ: in eleemosinam animæ: in remissionem criminum: pro salute regnorum: pro salute & requie animarum patrum & matrum, fratrum, & sororum nostrarum, parentum, & omnium benefactorum: in honorem gloriosæ Virginis*, &c. As maie appeare in ancient histories, in olde Charters and donations unto religious houses, and in the Chronicle of Ingulphus; as also all other stories be full of the same.

So

So king Ethelstane for killing his brother Edwine, builded two Monasteries, Midleton, and Michelney, for his soule. Which doctrine and institution, for so much as it tendeth and soundeth directly against the foundation of Christian religion, against the testament of God, the gospell of Jesus Christ, the freedome of our redemption, and free justification by faith, it is therefore to be condemned as execrable and horrible, as evill or worse than the life of the persons, and not only worthy to be suppressed to the foundation, but to be marvailed rather that God would suffer it to stand so long. Albeit Gods mighty vengeance and scourge hath not ceased from time to time, to work against such impious foundations, from the time of their first setting up. For besides the invasions of the Danes, (which may seeme to be stirred up of God, especially for the subversion of Abbeyes) let olde histories be searched, what Monasterie almost in all this realme, was either left by the Danes, or reedified againe after the Danes, but by some notorious casualtie of fire sent by Gods hand, it hath beene burnt up?

Furthermore, the more these Abbeyes multiplied, and the longer they continued in time, the more corruption still they drew unto them. And albeit wee read the name of monkes to have continued from the old ancient time, yet notwithstanding the Monkes of those daies were not like to the Monkes of our time, nor their houses then, like to our Abbeyes now. So we read of the monkes of Bangor before the comming of Augustine: but those monkes got their living with toile and labour of their hands, and had no other lands nor Lordships to live upon. Againe, neither were they as ministers then, but as Laymen: according as Hierom describeth the monks of his time, saying; "*A*

Monkes

Monkes office is not to preach, but to mourne. The state of a Monke is one thing, and the state of a priest is another. Priestes feede the flocke of Christ: I am fed, &c."

Also in the storie of Ingulphus Abbot of Croyland, thus I find, anno 1075. "Being installed in the Abbey of Croyland, I found there to the number of lxii. Monkes. Of which Monkes, four of them were lay brethren, besides the Monkes of other monasteries, which were also professed to our chapter, &c."

The like matter also appeareth in the fourth Canon of the councell of Chalcedon, where it is provided, Ne Monachi se Ecclesiasticis negotiis immisceant, &c. Et Leo, Epist. 62. vetat Monachos & laicos etsi scientiæ nomine glorientur admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi.

Thus it appeareth about or before the time of Hierome, that monkes in the first persecutions of the Primitive church were laie men, and companies of christians associating themselves togither, either for feare of persecution, or for eschewing the company of heathen Gentiles. Afterward in continuance of time, when the Gentiles began to be called to christianitie, the monkes yet keeping their name, and growing in superstition, would not joyne with other christians, but kept still their brotherhoods, dividing themselves from other christians, and professing a kinde of life straunge and divers from the common trade. Upon this diversitie of life and profession, followed also like diversitie of garments and attire differing from their other brethren. After this moreover came in the rule of S. Benedict, injoining to them a prescribed forme of going, of wearing, of watching, sleeping, rising, praying, of silence, sole life and diet, and al things almost differing from the vulgar sort of common christians.

Whereby

Whereby men seeing their austeritie, began to have them in great admiration. And thus growing up in opinion of holinesse, of lay men and labourers, they came at length to be clergymen, and greatest doers of all other in Christes religion: Insomuch that at last there was none reputed almost for a religious man or perfect christian unlesse he were a monke: neither almost was any advanced to any dignitie of the church, but either he was a Monke, or afterward hee put on monkes weed. According as in the stories of this realme is to be seene, how in the time of Dunstan archbishop of Canturbury, of Ethelwold Bishop of Worcester, and of Oswald Bishop of Winchester, Pope John 13. writing to king Edgar, willed him in his letters, to see in his cathedrall churches none to bee promoted to be Bishops, but such as were of the monasticall religion; and willed him moreover to exclude the secular prebendaries at Winchester, and to place in monkes, and that none of the secular clarkes there should bee chosen bishop, but either taken out of the same Convent of that church, or of some other Abbey.

So was also king Henry the second commanded to do in the house of Waltham, where the secular Canons were remooved out, and regular Canons intruded. The same did Oswald Bishop with the Church of Worcester. Likewise in their Sees did Dunstane archbishop of Canturbury, Osketellus archbishop of Yorke, Ethelwold bishop of Worcester (who in stories is reported to be *Multorum fundator Monasteriorum*), Leswinus also Bishop of Dorcester, with other Bishops mo about the time and raigne of king Edgar. Odo archbishop of Canturburie before Dunstane, an. 934. after his election refused to take that dignitie upon him, before he had received the habite of a monke in the abbey

abbey of Florence in France, because as the story telleth (if it be true) Nullus ad id tempus nisi monachali schemate indutus, Archiepiscopus fuisset. That is, Because al the archbishops of Canturbury before him, had been monkes. In like maner Baldwinus also, an. 1114, after hee was elected archbishop of Canturbury, tooke upon him the habite and profession of Mereton Abbey. And so did Reginaldus his next successor after him.

As concerning therefore the origine of Monkes, yee have heard how first they began of lay men onely, leading a straiter life from the societie of other persons; who then following the rule of S. Benet, were called regulars and votaries; and yet all this while had nothing to doe with any Ecclesiasticall ministerie, till the time of pope Bonifacius the fourth, an. 609, who then made a decree, that Monkes might use the office of preaching, of christening, of hearing confessions and assoyling them of their sinnes, differing from priests onely in this, that they were called *Regulares*, and priests were called *Seculares;* The monkes were votaries, the priests had free libertie to have wives, till the time of Lanfranke and Anselme. Albeit Athanasius in his Epistle *Ad Dracontium*, witnesseth also, that he knew monkes in the old time and Bishops, which were maried and had children. Furthermore, as ignorance and superstition with time increased, so the number and swarme of Monkes still more and more multiplied, in such sort, as not onlie they thrust out secular Priestes from their houses, but also out of them were made, Popes, Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, to governe Churches. Of which number began Austen the first Archbishop of the See of Canterbury and the most part of all other Archbishops after him, untill the time of the Conquest, and after.

All

All this while the Friers were not yet come. Neither the discipline of S. Dominike, nor the Testament of S. Francis, nor the order of the Austen brothers, nor of the Carmelites was yet heard of. Which last of all came in with their pageants, and plaied their part likewise, an. 1220. beeing much more full of hypocrisie, blindnes, Idolatry, and superstition, than were the monkes: So that, what with monkes of the one side, and with the friers of the other side, while all things were ruled by the Rules of Saint Benet, by the Canons of the Pope, by the doctrine of S. Dominike, and by the testament of S. Francis, Christs Testament was troden under foote, the rule of Gods word neglected, true christian religion defaced, faith forgotten, the right way of salvation abolished, sound doctrine oppressed, Christs servants persecuted, and the peoples soules uncomforted, yea and the true Church of Christ almost cleane extirped; had not almightie God (who can not forget his promise) provided remedie in time, in raising up this Cromwel his servant, and other like Champions, to cut up from the roote the houses of them, which otherwise would utterly have rooted up the house of the Lord, and had subverted a great part already.

Wherefore, whosoever findeth himself agreeved with Cromwels doings in suppressing these Monasteries of Monkes and Friers, let him wisely consider with himselfe, first the doctrine, lawes and traditions of these men: which hee shall finde rebelling to the religion of Christ, pernitious to our salvation, derogatorie to Christs glory, full of much blasphemie and damnable idolatry. Secondly, let him likewise well advise the horrible and execrable lives of these Cloysterers, or at the least search out the rolles and registers of matters found out by inquisition in King Henry the 8. his daies,

against

against them: which here is not to be spoken of, unlesse we will speak as Matthew Paris speaketh of the Court of Rome; *Cujus fœtor usque ad nubes fumum teterrimum exhalabat.*

All which things well considered, what marvell is it then, if God of his just judgement did set up the aforesaid Lord Cromwell to destroy these sinfull houses, whome their owne corruptions could suffer no longer to stand? And as touching the dissipation of their lands and possessions to the handes of such as they were bestowed upon, if it so pleased the King in bestowing those Abbey lands upon his Nobles and Gentlemen, either to restore them againe unto them from whence they came, or else to gratifie his nobilite, by that meanes of policie not to mislike his doings, what is that to Cromwell? "But they might (say you) have beene much better employed to other more fruitful uses." Briefflie to aunswere thereunto; what may bee done presently in a commonwealth, is not enough to say: but what may also follow must be considered. If this throwing downe of Abbeyes had happened in such free and reformed cities or countries, as are amongst the Germans, where the state governed and directed by lawes, rather than by rulers, remaineth alwaies alike and unmutable, who doubteth but such houses there standing still, the possessions might well be transposed to such uses abovesaid, without any feare or perill: But in such realmes and kingdomes as this, where lawes and Parliaments be not alwaies one, but are subject to the disposition of the prince, neither is it certaine alwaies what princes may come; the surest way therefore to send monkerie and poperie packing out of the realme, is to doe with their houses and possessions as king Henry here did, through the motion of the counsell of Cromwell. For else who

seeth

seeth not in Queene Maries time[3], if either the houses of monkes had stood, or their lands had been otherwise disposed than into the hands of such as they were, how many of them had beene restored and replenished againe with monkes and friers, in as ample wise as ever they were? And if Dukes, Barons and the nobilities scarse were able to retaine the lands and possessions of Abbeyes distributed to them by king Henry, from the devotion of Queen

[3] *Who seeth not in Queene Maries time.*] Whatever may be men's different judgments respecting either the justice, the expediency, or the necessity of the Dissolution of the religious Houses, and the purity of the motives by which its conductors were actuated, there can be but one sentiment concerning the truth of this observation of the Historian. All therefore who love the reformation, even though they may differ from this writer in his general argument, are bound to acknowledge the healing and merciful hand of God, which does not cease to convert the evil counsels of man to the furtherance of his own gracious designs.

"Let me here report (says Sir Henry Spelman) what hath been related to me from the mouth of Sir Clement Edmonds, lately a Clerk of his Majesty's Council, that did take his knowledge from the Council-Books: namely, that, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, the Parliament was not willing to restore Popery, and the Supremacy of the Pope, unless they might be suffered to retain the lands which were lately taken from the Monasteries. This resolution was signified to Rome, whereto the Pope gave answer, that for the Lands belonging to religious Houses he would dispense for detaining of them, but for the situation of the Houses, Churches, and such consecrated Ground, there could be no alienation thereof to profane uses." *History of Sacrilege*, p. 244. Warton, in his Life of Sir Thomas Pope, after giving an account to the same effect as the above, with the addition of some further particulars, concludes the subject with the following reflexion.

"Thus an equivalent was granted on both sides. The nobility and gentry were settled in the quiet enjoyment of their estates; and the Pope, *although most essentially weakened* by the alienation of that wealth on which his power so much depended, was reinstated in his supremacy over the Church." p. 43.

Mary,

Mary, seeking to build againe the walles of Jerico, what then should the meaner sort have done, let other men conjecture. Wherefore it is not unlike, that Gods heavenlie providence did well foresee and dispose these things before by this man in working the destruction of these Abbeyes: whereupon, as often as he sent out any to suppresse any monasterie, hee used most commonly to send them with this charge, that they should throwe downe those houses even to the foundation.

Which words although it may seeme percase to some to bee cruelly spoken of him; yet contrariwise doe I suppose the doing thereof not to bee without God's speciall providence and secret guiding: Or else wee might peradventure have had such swarmes of friers and monkes possessed in their neasts again, before this day in England, in so great a number, that ten Cromwels afterward unneth should have beene suffered to have unhoused them.

Wherefore if the plantation which the Lord God never planted, be pluckt up by the rootes, let God alone with his working, and let the monasteries goe.

Now that you have seene, what this Malleus Monachorum hath done in defacing the synagogue of the pope; let us see how the said Cromwell againe did travaile in setting up Christes church and congregation.

After that the bishop of Romes power and authoritie was banished out of England, the bishops of his sect never ceased to seek all occasion how either to restore his head again, being broken and wounded, or at the least to keepe upright those thinges which yet remained: wherein although their labours were not altogether frustrate, yet had they

they brought much more to passe, if Cromwell (as a mighty wall and defence of the church) had not resisted continually their enterprises.

It happened, that after the abolishing of the pope, certaine tumults began to rise about religion. Whereupon it seemed good unto K. Henry, to appoint an assembly of learned men and Bishops, which should soberly and modestly intreate and determine those things which pertained unto religion. Briefely, at the king's pleasure all the learned men, but specially the Bishops assembled, to whom this matter seemed chiefly to belong. Cromwell thought also to be present himself with the Bishops, who by chance meeting with Alexander Alesius [4] by the way, a Scottish man, brought him with him to the convocation house, where all the Bishops were assembled together. Which was in the year 1537. The Bishops and prelates attending upon the comming of Cromwell, as he was come in, rose up, and did obeisance to him as to their vicar generall,

[4] *Alexander Alesius.*] Fox's account of this assembly is taken from a tract written soon after by Alesius, with the following Title. "Of the Auctorite of the word of God agaynst the Bishop of London, wherein are conteyned certen Disputacyons had in the Parlament Howse, betwene the Bishops, abowt the nomber of the Sacraments and other things, very necessary to be known; made by Alexander Alane Scot, and sent to the Duke of Saxon." The book is now exceedingly rare. Soon after the advancement of Cranmer to the See of Canterbury, Alesius, who had lived much with the German Divines, especially Melancthon, was invited into England from Antwerp, as himself informs us, "by the right noble Lord Crumwell, and the Archbishop of Canterbery," and after being "lovingly received" not only by them, but also by the King himself, he was sent down to read a Theological Lecture at Cambridge; but meeting with opposition there, he returned to London, studied medicine under Doctor Nicholas, an eminent Physician, and was now practising in that art, when met, in the manner described, by the Lord Cromwell.

and

and he again saluted every one in their degree, and sate downe in the highest place at the table, according to his degree and office, and after him every bishop in his order, and doctors. First over against him sate the Archbishop of Canturbury, then the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of London, Lincolne, Salisbury, Bathe, Ely, Herford, Chichester, Norwich, Rochester and Worcester, &c. There Cromwell in the name of the King (whose most deare and secret counsellor at that present hee was, and Lord Privie Seale, and Vicar Generall of the realme) spake these words in maner following.

"RIGHT reverend Fathers in Christ; the king's majestie giveth you high thankes that ye have so diligently without any excuse, assembled hither according to his commandement. And ye bee not ignorant that yee be calked hither to determine certain controversies, which at this time be mooved concerning the christian religion & faith, not only in this realm, but also in all nations throughout the world. For the king studieth day and night to set a quietnes in the church, & he cannot rest until all such controversies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you & of his whole parliament. For although his special desire is to set a stay for the unlearned people, whose consciences are in doubt what they may beleeve; and he himself by his excellent learning, knoweth these controversies well enough, yet he wil suffer no common alteration, but by the consent of you & of his whole parliament. By the which thing yee may perceive both his high wisedome, & also his great love toward you. And he desireth you for Christes sake, that al malice, obstinacie, and carnall respect set apart, ye will friendly & lovingly dispute among your

selves, of the controversies mooved in the Church, and that ye will conclude all things by the word of God without al brawling or scolding; neither wil his majestie suffer the scripture to be wrasted & defaced by any gloses, any papisticall lawes, or by any authoritie of doctours or councels; & much lesse will he admit any articles or doctrine, not contained in the scripture, but approoved onely by continuance of time and olde custome, and by unwritten verities, as ye were woont to doe. Ye know wel enough that ye be bound to shew this service to Christ and to his church; & yet notwithstanding his majestie wil give you high thankes, if yee will set and conclude a godly and a perfect unity; whereunto this is the onely way and meane, if ye will determine all things by the scripture, as God commaundeth you in Deuteronomie, which thing his majestie exhorteth and desireth you to doe."

When Cromwell had ended this his oration, the Bishops rose up altogither, giving thankes unto the kings majesty, not only for his great zeale toward the church of Christ, but also for his most godly exhortation, worthy so christian a prince.

Immediatly they rose up to disputation, whereas Stokesly Bishop of London, first of all, being the most earnest champion and maintainer of the Romish Decrees, (whom Cromwell a little before had checked by name, for defending unwritten verities) endevoured himselfe with all his labour and industry, out of the olde Schoole gloses, to maintaine the seven Sacraments of the church. The archbishop of York, Lincolne, Bathe, Chichester, and Norwich also favoured his part and sect. On the contrarie part, was the archbishop

of Canturbury, the Bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Herford, and Worcester, with many other.

After much communication had on either part, and that they had long contended about the testimonie of the Doctours,. which as it seemed unto them, dissented and disagreed among themselves, the Archbishop of Canturbury at the last spake and said thus unto them.

"It beseemeth not men of learning and gravitie to make much babling and brawling, about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawle about words, is the property of Sophisters and such as meane deceit and subtilty, which delight in the debate and dissention of the world and in the miserable state of the church; and not of them which seek the glory of Christ, and should studie for the unity & quietnes of the church. There be waighty controversies now moved and put forth not of ceremonies & light things, but of the true understanding, & of the right difference of the law and of the gospel: of the maner and way how sinnes be forgiven: of comforting doubtful, and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing they feele the strength of the law, accusing them of sin: of the true use of the Sacraments, whether the outward worke of them doth justifie man, or whether we receive our justification by faith. Item, which bee the good workes, and the true service and honour which pleaseth God: & whether the choise of meates, the difference of garments, the vowes of Monkes and priests and other traditions which have no worde of God to confirme them; whether these (I say) be right good works, and such as make a perfect christian man or no? Item, whether vaine service,

vice, and false honouring of God, and mans traditions, doe binde mens consciences, or no? Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, and of annealing, and such other (which cannot be proved to be institute of Christ, nor have any word in them to certifie us of remission of sins) ought to be called Sacraments, and to bee compared with Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord or no?

"These bee no light matters, but even the principall points of our Christian religion. Wherefore wee contend not about words and titles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ saith, *Blessed be the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sonnes of God.* And Paul writing unto Timothy, commanded Bishops to avoid brawling & contention about wordes, which be profitable to nothing but unto the subversion and destruction of the hearers; and monisheth him specially, that he should, resist with the scriptures when any man disputeth with him of the faith; and he addeth a cause, whereas he saith, *Doing this, thou shalt preserve both thy selfe, and also them which hear thee.* Now if yee will follow these Counsellers, Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words must bee set apart, and ye must stablish a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the scripture. Wherefore in this disputation, we must first agree of the number of the sacraments, and what a sacrament doth signifie in the holy scripture; and when wee call baptisme and the supper of the Lord, sacraments of the gospell, what wee meane thereby. I know right well, that S. Ambrose and other Authors call the washing of the disciples feet and other things sacraments: which I am sure you your selves would not suffer to be numbered among the other sacraments."

When he had ended [5] his Oration, Cromwell commanded Alesius which stoode by (whom hee perceived to give attentive eare to that which was spoken) to shew his minde and opinion, declaring to the Bishops before, that he was the kings scholler [6], and therefore desired them to bee contented to heare him indifferently.

Alesius after he had first done his dutie unto the L. Cromwell, and to the other Prelates of the church, said in this wise.

[5] *When he had ended.*] "This exhortacyon" (says Alesius, in the Tract just referred to) "did the Archbisshop make *most soberly and discretely, as he is a man of a singular gravyte, with such sweetnes* that it did my hart good to hear him. And because I did signifye by some token of my countenance that this admonicyon of the Archbisshop did please and delight me excellently wel, the Lord Cromwel bad me speake what I thought of this disputacyon. But he told the Bisshops before, that I was the Kings Scolar, and therefore he desiered them to be content to heare me indifferently. Than I after the rude maner of the Scholes, rather than after any courtly solemnyte, bowing my knee for a token of curtesy and reverence, as it became me, without any preface at all, begun to speake after this maner. Ryght honorable &c," as in Fox. Alane's *Auctorite*, &c. signat. A 8.

[6] *The kings scholler.*] "Cheke being once at Court with Butts (the King's Physician), he took occasion to recommend Cheke to the King for a singular Scholar, and particularly for his study and proficiency in the Greek tongue. And being thus known to the King, he soon after advanced him to the honour *to be his Scholar*, together with one Smith of Queen's College, afterwards sufficiently known, being Secretary of State, and employed in Embassies abroad. To both whom the King *exhibited* for the encouragement of their studies, and for the bearing of their expences of travel into foreign countries. A very good practice formerly used by our Princes, to fit and train up young Scholars for the service of the King and Court, to be Ambassadors, Secretaries, Privy Councillors, Bishops, Tutors to the Nobility, and the like; having learned the languages of other countries, acquainted themselves with their customs, and visited the courts of princes." Strype's *Life of Sir John Cheke*, p. 7. See also Strype's *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 10, 11. And Fuller's *Hist of Cambridge*, p. 139.

"Right

"Right Honorable and noble Lord, and you most reverend fathers and Prelates of the church, although I come unprepared unto this disputation, yet trusting in the aid of Christ, which promiseth to give both mouth and wisedome unto us when wee be required of our faith, I will utter my sentence and judgement of this disputation. And I thinke that my Lord archbishop hath given you a profitable exhortation, that yee should first agree of the signification of a sacrament, whether ye will call a sacrament, a ceremony institute of Christ in the Gospell, to signifie a speciall or a singular vertue of the Gospell, and of godlines (as Paule nameth remission of sinnes to be) or whether ye meane, every ceremony generally, which may bee a token or a signification of an holy thing, to bee a sacrament? For after this latter signification, I wil not sticke to grant you that there be seven sacraments, and more to, if ye will. But yet Paule seemeth to describe a sacrament after the just signification, whereas he saith, *That circumcision is a token and a seale of the righteousnesse of faith.* (Rom. 4.) This definition of one particular sacrament, must be understand to pertaine unto all sacraments generally; for the Jewes had but one sacrament only, as all the sophisticall writers doe grant. And hee describeth Baptisme after the same maner, in the fift to the Ephesians, whereas he saieth, *That Christ doth sanctifie the church (that is to say) all that bee baptised through the bathe of water in the worde of life.* (Ephes. 5.) For here also he addeth the word and promise of God unto the ceremony. And Christ also requireth faith, where he saith, *Whosoever beleeveth and is baptised, shall be saved.*

"And saint Auguſtine describeth a sacrament thus, *The word of God coming unto the element, maketh the sacrament.* And in another place hee saith;

saith; *A sacrament is a thing wherein the power of God, under the forme of visible things, doth worke secretly salvation.* And the maister of the Sentences doth describe a sacrament no otherwise. *A sacrament* (saith hee) *is an invisible grace, and hath a visible forme: and by this invisible grace, I meane, saith he, remission of sinnes.* Finally S. Thomas denyeth that any man hath authoritie to institute a sacrament. Now if ye agree unto this definition of a sacrament, it is an easie thing to judge of the number of those Sacraments which have the manifest word of God, and be institute by Christ to signifie unto us the remission of our sinnes.

" S. Augustine saith, that there be but two such sacraments, in the cxviii. Epistle to Januarius. His words be these: *First, I would have thee to understand the sum and effect of this disputation, which is this: that our Lord Jesus Christ (as hee himself saith in the Gospell) hath laden us, but with a light and easie yoake or burthen. Wherefore he hath knit togither the fellowship of his new people with sacramentes, very few in number, very easie to be kept, and very excellent in signification; which be Baptisme, and the supper of the Lord, and such other; if there be any moe commanded in the holy scripture, those except which were burthens for the servitude of the people in the old law, for the hardnes of their harts.* And againe in the 3. booke of the learning of the christian man, he saith; *The scripture hath taught us but few signes, as be the sacrament of Baptisme, and the solemne celebration and remembrance of the body and bloud of the Lord.*"

Then the bishop of London which could scarsely refrain himselfe all this while, and now could forbeare no longer, brake out in this maner, " First of all, saith he, where you alledge, that all the Sacraments

Sacraments which are in the church instituted by Christ himselfe, have either some manifest ground in the scriptures, or ought to shew forth some signification of remission of sinnes, it is false and not to be allowed."

Then said Alesius, "that he would prove it, not only by manifest authoritie of Scriptures, but also by evident testimonies of ancient Doctors and schoolewriters."

But the bishop of Hereford [7] which was then lately returned out of Germany (where he had been Ambassadour for the King to the Protestants) being moved with the Bishop of Londons forwardnes, turning himselfe first to Alexander Alesius willed him not to contend with the Bishop in such maner, by the testimonies of Doctors and schoolemen, forsomuch as they doe not all agree in like matters, neither are they stedfast among themselves in all points, but doe vary and in many pointes are utterly repugnant. Wherefore if this disputation shal be decided by their mindes and verdites, there shal be nothing established, neither shall appeare any waie of agreement to follow. Furthermore wee be commanded by the King that these controversies should bee determined onely by the rule and judgment of the scripture. This he spake

[7] *The Bishop of Hereford.*] Edward Fox, the King's Almoner. He was consecrated Bishop of Hereford Sept. 26, 1535. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 111. His influence, *about this time*, (as was that of Cromwell also and Cranmer) was very great with Henry. Gardiner, and his party, powerful as they were, were now kept in check by them. Fox's harangue is thus introduced by Alesius. "But the Bisshop of Herforth (whom the King's Grace favoured highly, both for his singular wisdom and learning, which was then newe comme out of Germany, where he had bene Imbassytor) being moved with the forwardnes of this Bishop of London, sayd unto me, *Brother Alexander, contend not moch with him* &c." Signat. B. 3.

unto

unto Alesius. Then he turning himselfe unto the Bishops, likewise admonished them with a grave and sharpe Oration, which wee thought not good to omit in this place.

" Thinke ye not (said he) that we can by any sophisticall subtleties steale out of the world again, the light which every man doth see. Christ hath so lightened the world at this time, that the light of the gospel hath put to flight all misty darknes, & it wil shortly have the higher hand of al clouds, though we resist in vain never so much. The lay people doe now know the holy scripture better than many of us. And the Germans have made the text of the Bible so plaine and easie by the Hebrew and Greek tongue, that now many things may bee better understand without any gloses at all, than by all the commentaries of the doctors. And moreover they have so opened these controversies by their writings, that women and children may wonder at the blindness & falshood that hath been hitherto. Wherfore ye must consider earnestly, what ye will determin of these controversies, that ye make not your selves to be mocked and laughed to scorne of all the world, and that ye bring them not to have this opinion of you, to thinke evermore hereafter, that ye have neither one sparke of learning, nor yet of godlines in you. And thus shal ye lose all your estimation & authority with them, which before tooke you for learned men, and profitable members unto the commonwealth of christendom. For that which you doe hope upon, that there was never heresie in the church so great, but that processe of time with the power and authoritie of the Pope hath quenched it, it is nothing to the purpose. But yee must turne your opinion, and thinke this surely, that there is nothing so feeble and weake, so that it bee true, but it shall find

find place, and be able to stand against all falshood.

"Truth is the daughter of time, & time is the mother of truth. And whatsoever is besieged of trueth, cannot long continue; & upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thoght transitorie, or that it wil ever fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence and strength or authoritie. For the truth is of so great power, strength & efficacie, that it can neither be defended with words, nor bee overcome with any strength, but after she hath hidden her self long, at length she putteth up her head, and appeareth, as it is written in Esdras. *A king is strong, wine is stronger; yet women be more strong; but truth excelleth all.*"

To this effect in a maner, and much more, did he speake and utter in that convocation, both copiously and discretely: through whose Oration, Alesius being encouraged, proceeded further to urge the Bishop with this argument.

"Sacraments bee Seales ascertaining us of Gods good will:

"Without the worde there is no certaintie of Gods good will:

"Ergo. Without the word there be no Sacraments.

"The first part of this reason is S. Paule's owne saying, the fourth to the Romanes, where he saith; *That circumcision is a token and a seale of the righteousnes of faith.* Ergo, it requireth faith to certifie mans hart of the will of God. But the word of God is the foundation of faith, as S. Paul witnesseth, Rom. 10. *Faith commeth by hearing, and hearing commeth by the word of God.* For the minde must bee taught and instructed to the will of God by the worde, like as the eie is taught and instructed by the outward ceremony. And so Paul by

by that saying confuteth this opinion, that the Sacraments should make men righteous and just before God, for the verie outward worke, without faith of them that receive them.

"And after this maner doth Paule speake unto the Ephesians; *that Christ doth sanctifie his church through the bathe of water in the word of life.* And for as much as he joineth the word unto the ceremony, and declareth the vertue and power of the word of God, that it bringeth with it life, hee doth manifestly teach that the word of God is the principall thing, and even as it were the very substance and body of the Sacrament; and the outward ceremony to be nothing els then a token of that lively inflammation which we receive through faith in the word and promise. Saint Paul also in ministring the Sacrament of the Lord's supper, doth manifestly adde the words of Christ: *He tooke bread,* saith he, *and when he had given thankes, he brake it and said, Take yee this, and eate yee this, for it is my body.* Item. *Doe ye this in my remembrance.* Beside this he teacheth evidently that onely Christ and none but he had power to institute a sacrament: and that neither the Apostles, nor the church hath any authoritie to alter or to adde any thing unto his ordinance, whereas he saith; *For I have received of the Lord that which I delivered unto you,* &c. To what purpose should hee goe about to moove the people to beleeve him, and to win their hearts with this protestation, if it had beene lawfull for him to have made any sacraments, or to have altered the forme and manner of ministring this sacrament; as some men both wickedly and shamefully doe affirm, that the Apostles did alter the forme of baptisme?"

When he had spoken thus much, the bishop of London did interrupt him and said: "Let us grant that

that the sacraments may be gathered out of the word of God, yet are you farre deceived, if ye think that there is none other word of God, but that which every sowter[8] and cobler do read in their mother tongue. And if yee think that nothing pertaineth unto the christian faith, but that only that is written in the Bible, then erre ye plainly with the Lutherans. For John saith; *Jesus did many things which be not written.* And Paul commandeth the Thessalonians to observe and keep certaine unwritten traditions and ceremonies. (2. Thess. 2.) Moreover he himself did preach not the scripture only, but even also the traditions of the Elders. (Acts 16.) Finally wee have received many things of the doctors and councels by times, which although they be not written in the Bible, yet forsomuch as the olde doctors of the church do make mention of them, we ought to grant that we received them of the Aposties, and that they be of like authority with the scripture, and finally that they may worthily be called the word of God unwritten."

Now when the right noble Lord Cromwell, the archbishop, with the other bishops, which did defend the pure doctrine of the gospell, heard this, they smiled a little one upon another, forsomuch as they saw him flee even in the verie beginning of the disputation, unto his olde rustie sophistrie, and unwritten verities. Then Alesius would have proceeded further with the Bishop to have confuted this blasphemous lie, but the L. Cromwell bade him bee content, for the time began to go away, and it was twelve of the clocke, and thus he made an ende with his protestation. "Right reverend

[8] *Every sowter.*] "*Sowter; Sutor*, Calcearius." Skinner. Junius, &c.

maister

maister bishop, you deny that our christian faith and religion doth leane onely upon the worde of God, which is written the bible; which thing if I can prove and declare, then you will grant me that there be no sacraments, but those that have the manifest word of God to confirm them." Unto this he did consent; and then immediately that assembly was dissolved for that day.

The next daie [9], when the bishops were set againe, the archbishop of Canterburie sending his Archdeacon, commanded Alesius to abstaine from disputation; whereupon he wrote his mind, and delivered it unto Cromwell, who afterward shewed the same unto the bishops. Thus through the industry of Cromwel, the colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit religion could not wholly be reformed, yet at that time there was some reformation had [1] throughout all England.

How

[9] *The next daie.*] "Now the next day, whan the bisshops were assembled agayne, and I was present with the Lord Cromwel, there came unto me a certen archdeacon in the name of the Archbishop of Cantorbery, which told me, that the other Bisshops were grevously offended with me, that I being a stranger shuld be admitted unto their disputacyon: which thing whan I had shewed unto the Lord Cromwel, he thought it best to give place unto the Bisshops, specially because he would not procure me their hatred.—But he bad me gyve him the paper wherein I had written my disputacyon, that he might shewe it to the Bisshop of London, and to the other Bisshops in the Councel, the contents whereof were this." Alexander Alane, *Of the auctoritie of the word of God.* Signat. A 7. The remainder of the Treause is taken up in confuting the arguments of the Bishop of London (Stokesley) for Traditions and Unwritten Verities; and in establishing in opposition thereto the grand Protestant principle, *that the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary unto Salvation.*

[1] *Some reformation had.*] The progress made towards the revival of true religion by the deliberations at this period was exceedingly important. Two books, to which it is probable that Fox here

How desirous and studious this good Cromwell was in the cause of Christs religion, examples need not to be brought. His whole life was nothing else, but a continuall care and travaile how to advance and further the right knowledge of the gospel, and reforme the house of God; as by many

here alludes, and of which it is to be wished, that he had given a detailed account, are especially worthy of mention. The first is the *Articles of* 1536: which being brought into convocation by Fox Bishop of Hereford on July 11. in that year, were the same day subscribed by the Lord Cromwell, the King's Vicegerent, the Archbishop and Prelates, and by the Members of the Lower House. They were soon after printed, (with a prefatory letter addressed by the King to all his loving Subjects) under the following title. "Articles devised by the Kynges Highnes Majestie, to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie amonge us, and to avoyde contentious opinions; which articles be also approved by the consent and determination of the hole Clergie of this realme, anno 1536." Bishop Burnet in the Addenda to the first Volume of his History of the Reformation has printed these Articles from a Cotton MS. still extant in the British Museum, which is a true original, having the autographs of all the subscribers: and from his History they are again published in Wilkins's Concilia, Vol. III. p. 817—823. They may also be read in Fuller (Church Hist. cent. 16, p. 213, &c.), as transcribed by him from the Acts of Convocation. The other book, some mention of which is proper in this place, is the *Institution of a Christian Man*, which being prepared by a Commission of Divines, who held their meetings in the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth, was printed, and came out, about the month of October, in the year 1537. The book is divided into four parts, being an Exposition (1) of the Apostles Creed (2) of the seven Sacraments (3) of the ten Commandments, and (4) of the Lord's Prayer, and Ave Maria, with the articles of Justification, and Purgatory. Prefixed is a preface by the Convocation. In the course of this volume, certainly the principal part, perhaps the whole of the Articles which came out in the preceding year, is inserted. The book is exceedingly well, and carefully composed, in a very pure and dignified stile; and is altogether an illustrious monument of the atchievements of Cranmer and his Colleagues against the intrigues and opposition of a party formidable at once for their zeal, number, and power.

proclamations

proclamations by his meanes set forth, may well appeare; wherein first he caused the people to be instructed in the Lords praier, and Creed in English; then procured the scripture also to be read and set forth in the same language, for every English man to understand; after that, to rescue the vulgar people from damnable Idolatry, caused certaine of the most grosest pilgrimages to be destroied. And further, for the more commodity of the poore sort, which get their living with their daily labour and worke of their hands, hee provided that divers idle holy daies were diminished. Item hee procured for them libertie to eate egges and whitemeate in Lent. Furthermore by him it was also provided, for the better instruction of the people, that beneficed men should be resident in their Cures and parishes, there to teach and to keepe hospitalitie; with many other thinges else most fruitfully redressed for the reformation of Religion and behoofe of Christs church: as by the Proclamations, Injunctions, and necessary articles of christian doctrine above specified, set forth in the kings name, by his meanes, may more abundantly appeare.

Now to adjoine withall his private benefites in helping divers good men and women at sundry times out of troubles and great distresses, it would require a long discourse. Briefely his whole life was full of such examples, beeing a man to that intent ordained of God (as his deedes well proved) to doe many men good, and especially such as were in danger of persecution for religions sake. Amongst other infinite stories, one or two examples shall suffice for a testimony of his worthy doings.

In the yeare of our Lord 1538. Sir William Forman beeing Maior of the citie of London, three weekes

weekes before Easter, the wife of one Thomas Frebarn dwelling in Pater noster rowe, beeing with childe, longed after a morsell of a pigge, and tolde her minde unto a maide dwelling in Abchurch-lane, desiring her if it were possible, to helpe her unto a peece. The maide, perceiving her earnest desire, shewed unto her husband, what his wife had said unto her, telling him that it might chance to cost her her life and the childes too which she went withall, if shee had it not. Upon this Thomas Frebarne her husband spake to a butter wife which hee knew, that dwelled at Harnsey, named goodwife Fisher, to helpe him to a pigge for his wife, for shee was with childe, and longed sore to eat of a pigge. Unto whom the said goodwife Fisher promised that she would bring him one the Friday following, and so she did, beeing ready dressed and scalded before. But when she had delivered him the pigge, shee craftily conveied one of the pigs feet, and carried it unto Doctor Cockes, at that time being deane of Canturburie, dwelling in Ivy lane, who at that time of his dinner, before certaine guests which he had bidden, shewed his pigges foote, declaring who had the body thereof: and after that they had talked their pleasure, and dinner was done, one of his guests being landlord unto Frebarne aforesaid, called M. Garret, and by his office, king of Armes, sent his man unto the said Frebarne, demanding if there were no body sicke in his house. Unto whom hee answered, that they were all in good health, he gave God thankes. Then said he againe, It was told his maister that some body was sicke, or else they would not eat flesh in lent: unto whom Frebarne made answer, that his wife was with child, and longed for a peece of a pigge, and if he could get some for her he would.

would. Then departed his landlords man home againe.

And shortly after his Landlord sent for him. But before that he sent for him, he had sent for the Bishop of Londons sumner, whose name was Holland, and when this Frebarne was come, he demanded of him, if hee had not a pig in his house, which he denied not. Then commanded M. Garret the said sumner called Holland, to take him, and go home to his house, and to take the pig, and carry both him and the pig unto Doctor Stokesley, his maister, beeing then bishop of London; and so he did. Then the bishop being in his chamber with divers other of the clergy, called this Frebarne before him, and had him in examination for this pigge; laying also unto his charge, that he had eaten in his house that Lent poudred beefe and Calves heads. Unto whome Frebarne answered. "My Lord, if the heads were eaten in my house, in whose houses were the bodies eaten? Also, if there be either man or woman that can prove, that either I, or any in my house hath done as your Lordship saith, let me suffer death therefore." "You speake (said hee) against pilgrimages, and will not take holy bread, nor holy water, nor yet goe on Procession on Palme Sunday: Thou art no Christian man." "My Lord, said Frebarne, I trust I am a true Christian man, and have done nothing neither against Gods law nor my princes."

In the time of this his examination, which was during the space of two houres, divers came unto the Bishop, some to have their children confirmed, and some for other causes. Unto whome as they came, having the pig before him covered, he would lift up the cloth and shew it them, saying; "How think you of such a fellow as this is? is not this good

good meate, I pray you, to be eaten in this blessed time of Lent, yea and also powdred Beefe and Calves heads too beside this?"

After this, the Bishop called his Sumner unto him, and commaunded him to go and carrie this Thomas Frebarne and the pig openly thorow the streetes, into the old Baylie, unto Sir Roger Chomley; for the bishoppe said, he had nothing to do to punish him; for that belonged unto the civil magistrates. And so was Frebarne caried with the pig before him, to sir Roger Chomleies house in the old Baily, and he not being at home at that time, Frebarne was brought likewise backe againe unto the bishops palace with the pig, and there lay in the porters lodge till it was nine o'clocke at night. Then the bishoppe sent him unto the Counter in the Poultry by the Sumner and other of his servants.

The next day being Saturday, he was brought before the Maior of London and his brethren unto the Guildhall, but before his comming, they had the pig delivered unto them by the Bishops officer. Then the Maior and the Bench laide unto his charge (as they were informed from the bishop) that he had eaten poudred beefe and Calves heads in his house the same Lent. But no man was able to come in that would justifie it; neither could any thing be found, save onely the Pig, which (as is before sayd) was for the preservation of his wives life, and that she went withall. Notwithsanding the Maior of London said, that the Monday next following, he should stand on the Pillarie in Cheape side, with the one halfe of the pig on the one shoulder [2], and the other halfe on the other.

Then

[2] *On the one shoulder.*] In the year 1556, "Two persons at Boston, in the Diocese of Lincoln, ate flesh against the law

Then spake the Wife of the said Frebarne unto the Maior and the Bench, desiring that she might stand there, and not he, for it was long of her and not of him. After this they tooke a satten list, and tied it fast about the pigs necke, and made Frebarne to cary it hanging on his shoulder untill hee came unto the counter of the Poultrey, from whence he came.

After this was done, the Wife of the prisoner tooke with her an honest woman, the Wife of one

of the Catholic Church; and were put to penance of carrying a quarter of Lamb about the market of Boston, bare-legged and bare-headed." Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 296.

Fox's story of the poor woman and her pigs-flesh will perhaps be offensive to some of my readers, and be counted beneath the dignity even of his History. But the narrative is very significant of the religious feelings of those times; and the subject of it, as might easily be shewn, was associated with many serious and interesting considerations, which, in the age when it was written, would exempt it from the charge of trifling and levity, to which it may now seem liable.

"Many, for shame," (says Tindal in his *Obedience of a Christian Man*) "keepe back their confession for twenty or thirty yeares, and thinke all the while that they be damned. I knewe a poore woman with childe which longed, and being overcomen of her passion, eate flesh on a Friday, which thing she durst not confesse in the space of eighteen yeares; and thought all that while that she had been damned." *Works*, p. 140. A. D, 1572 In the persecution by Bishop Longland about the year 1521, Alice Holting was *abjured*, "for that she being in a state of pregnancy did dine before she went to church to take her rites; saying that Isabel Tracher did so tell her, that she might dine before she received the Sacrament." Fox. p. 755. Nor were the poor and the humble alone interested in these feelings, and exposed to suffering by their transgressions against the will of the Church in these matters. Not long after the time of the story of the poor woman and Lord Cromwell, the gallant Earl of Surrey himself, renowned for his devotion to chivalry and the Muses, was imprisoned in Windsor Castle for eating flesh in Lent, on occasion of which he has composed one of his most beautiful Sonnets. Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Vol. III.

Michaell

Michaell Lobley, which was well acquainted with divers in the Lord Cromwels house, unto whom the said woman resorted for some helpe for this prisoner, desiring them to speake unto their Lord and Maister for his deliverance out of trouble.

It hapned that the same time came in Doctour Barnes and Maister Barlow, who understanding the matter by Lobleyes wife, went up to the Lord Cromwell, and certified him thereof: who upon their request, sent for the Maior of the Citie of London: but what was said unto the Lord Maior, is unknowne, saving that in the after noone of the same day, the wife of the person aforesaide resorted againe unto the Lord Maior, suing to get her husband delivered out of prison, declaring how that she had two small children, and had nothing to help her and them, but onely her husband, who laboured for their livings. Unto whom the Maior answered, "what come yee to me? You are taken up with the King's Councell. I supposed that you had come to desire me that your husband should not stand upon the Pillarie in Cheape side on Monday next, with the one halfe of the pig on his one shoulder, and the other halfe on the other." Also the Maior said unto her, that hee could not deliver him without the consent of the rest of his brethren the Aldermen. Wherefore he bade her the next day following, which was Sonday, to resort unto Paules to Saint Dunstones Chappell, and when he had spoken with his brethren, hee would then tell her more. Other aunswere could shee get none at that time. Wherefore shee went unto Maister Wilkinson, then being Sheriffe of London, desiring him to bee good unto her, and that she might have her poore husband out of prison. Unto whome Maister Wilkinson aunswered; "O woman, Christ hath laide a piece of his crosse upon thy

necke, to prove whether thou wilt helpe him to beare it or no;" saying moreover to her, that if the Lord Maior had sent him to his Counter, as hee sent him to his brothers, hee should not have taried there an houre; and so commaunded her to come the next day unto him to dinner, and hee would do the best for her he could. So the next day came; and this woman resorted againe to Maister Wilkinsons, according as hee bade her, who also had bidden divers guests; unto whome hee spake in her behalfe. But as they were set at dinner, and she also sitting at the table, when she sawe the hote fish to come in, shee fell downe in a swound, so that for the space of two houres they could keepe no life in her. Wherefore they sent her home to her house in Pater noster row, and then they sent for the Midwife, supposing that shee would have beene delivered incontinent of her child that she went with: but after that shee came somewhat again to her selfe, where she lay sicke and kept her bed the space of fifteen weekes after, being not able to help her selfe, but as shee was helped of others, during the time of fifteen weekes.

Now to shewe further what became of this Pig, whereof we have spoken so much: it was caried into Finsburie field by the Bishop of Londons Sumner, at his maisters commandement, and there buried. The Monday following, being the fourth day after that this prisoner aforesaid was apprehended, the Maior of London, with the residue of his brethren being at Guild hall, sent for the prisoner aforenamed, and demaunded sureties of him for his forthcoming, whatsoever hereafter should or might be laid unto his charge: but for lacke of such sureties as they required, upon his owne bond, which was a recognisance of twentie pound, hee was delivered out of their hands. But shortly after that

that he was delivered out of this his trouble, maister Garret, of whome wee have spoken before, being his Landlord, warned him out of his house, so that in foure yeares after, he could not get another; but was constrained to be within other good folks, to his great hindrance and undoing.

Hard it were and almost out of number to rehearse the names and stories of all them, which felt the gentle help of this good man in some case or other. Where might be remembred the notable deliverance of one Gray, a Smyth of Bishops Starford, who being accused for denying the sacrament of the aultar to be our Savior, was sent up for the same to London, and there should have beene condemned to bee burnt, but that by the meanes of the Lord Cromwell, hee was sent home againe and delivered. One other example, though it be somewhat long, with the circumstances and all, I will declare, how he helped the Secretarie that then was to Doctor Cranmer Archbishop of Canturburie, which Secretarie is yet alive, and can beare present record of the same.

Mention was made before how King Henrie in the yeare of his reigne 21 caused the six Articles[3] to passe,

[3] *The six Articles.*] The substance of this sanguinary Act, commonly called the *six-stringed whip*, and which, for that time, confirmed the triumph of Gardiner and his party over the friends of the reformation, was as follows. It decreed 1. The corporal presence in the Eucharist; against which, whoever spake, preached or wrote, was to be burned, without the privilege of abjuration, and his estates real and personal to be forfeited to the King. 2. That Communion in *both kinds* is not necessary to salvation: and that it is to be believed, without any doubt, that in the *flesh*, under form of bread, is contained the very *blood:* and with the *blood*, under form of wine, is the very *flesh* of Christ. 3. Against the Marriage of Priests. Their Marriages were declared void; and such as cohabited with their wives afterwards were to suffer death

passe, much against the mind and contrarie to the consent of the Archbishop of Canturburie Thomas Cranmer, who had disputed three dayes against the same in the Parliament house, with great reasons and authorities. Which Articles after they were graunted and past by the Parliament, the King for the singular favour which hee ever bare to Cranmer, and reverence to his learning, being desirous to knowe what he had said and objected in the Parliament against these Articles, or what could be alledged by learning against the same, required a note of the Achbishop of his doings, what hee had said and opposed in the Parliament touching that matter. And this word was sent to him from the King by Cromwell, and other Lords of the Parliament; whome the King then sent to dine with him at Lambeth, somewhat to comfort againe his grieved minde and troubled spirits.

Whereupon when his dinner was finished, the next day after the Archbishop collecting both his arguments, authorities of Scriptures, and Doctors together, caused his Secretarie to write a fayre booke thereof for the King, after this order. First the Scriptures were alleadged, then the Doctors, thirdly followed the Arguments deducted from those authorities. This booke was written in his Secretaries Chamber, where, in a by Chamber lay the Archbishops Almosiner. When this booke was

death as Felons. 4. That Vows of Celibacy ought to be observed, by the laws of God. 5. That private Masses ought to be continued. 6. That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained. Those who contemned, or abstained from Confession, or the Sacrament at the accustomed times, were, for the first offence, to forfeit their goods and chattels, and to be imprisoned: and for the second to be deemed guilty of Felony, &c. Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*. p. 127. Comp. Fox. p. 1036. &c. Burnet. Vol. 1. p. 245—248. Strype. &c.

fayre

fayre written, and whiles the Secretarie was gone to deliver the same unto the Archbishop his maister, who was (as it then chanced) rid to Croydon; returning back to his chamber, he found the doore shut, and the key caried away to London by the Almosiner.

At this season also chanced the father of the said Secretary to come to the Citie, by whose occasion it so fell out that he must needes go to London. The booke he could not lay into his chamber, neither durst he commit it to any other person to keepe, being straightly charged, in any condition, of the Archbishop his maister, to be circumspect thereof: so that he determined to goe to his father, and to keepe the booke about him. And so thrusting the booke under his girdle, he went over unto Wesminster bridge with a Sculler, where hee entred into a Whyrry that went to London, wherein were four of the Gard, who ment to land at Paules Wharfe, and to passe by the Kings highnesse, who then was in his Barge, with a great number of Barges and Boates about him, then baiting of of Beares in the water over against the banke[4].

These foresaid yeomen of the Gard, when they came against the Kings Barge, durst not passe by towardes Paules Wharfe, least they should be espied; and therefore intreated the Secretarie to goe with them to the Bearebayting, and they would finde the meanes, being of the Gard, to make roome, and to see all the pastime. The Secretarie perceiving no other remedie, assented therto. When the Whirry came nie the multitude of the Boates, they with pollaxes got in the Whirry so farre, that being compassed with many other Whir-

[4] *Against the Banke.*] A noted district on the Surrey side of the river Thames.

ries,

ries, and Boates, there was no refuge if the Beare should breake loose, and come upon them; as in verie deede, within one pater noster while, the Beare brake loose, and came into the Boate where the yeomen of the Gard were, and the sayd Secretarie. The Gard forsooke the Whirry, and went into an other Barge, one or two of them leaping short, and so fell into the water. The Beare and the dogs so shaked the Whirrie wherein the Secretary was, that the Boate being full of water, sunke to the ground, and being also as it chanced an ebbing tide, he there sate in the end of the Whirrie up to the middle in water. To whome came the Beare and all the dogs. The Beare seeking as it were aide and succour of him, came back with his hinder parts upon him, and so rushing upon him, the booke was loosed from his girdle, and fell into the Thames out of his reach.

The flying of the people, after that the Beare was loose, from one Boate to an other, was so comberous, that diverse persons were throwne into the Thames; the King commanding certaine men that could swimme, to strip themselves naked, and to help to save them that were in danger. This pastime so displeased the King, that he had away with the Beare, and let us all go hence.

The Secretarie perceiving his booke to fleete away in the Thames, called to the Beareward to take up the booke. When the Beareward had the booke in his custody, being an arrant Papist, farre from the religion of his Mistres, (for he was the Ladie Elizabeths Beareward, now the Queenes Majestie) ere that the Secretarie could come to land, he had delivered the booke to a Priest of his owne affinitie in religion standing on the banke, who reading in the booke, and perceiving that it was a manifest refutation of the six Articles, made much adoe, and told

told the Beareward, that whosoever claymed the booke, should surely be hanged. Anon the Secretary came to the Beareward for his booke. What quoth the Beareward, dare you chalenge this booke? Whose servant be you? I am servant to one of the Councell, said the Secretarie, and my Lord of Caunturburie is my maister. Yea marie, quoth the Beareward, I thought so much. You be like I trust, quoth the Beareward, to bee both hanged for this booke. Well (sayd hee) it is not so evill as you take it; and I warrant you my Lord will avouch the booke to the Kings Majestie. But I pray you let me have my booke, and I will give you a Crowne to drinke. If you would give me five hundred Crownes, you shall not have it, quoth the Beareward. With that the Secretarie departed from him, and understanding the malicious frowardnes of the Beareward, he learned that Blage the Grocer in Cheape side might doe much with the Beareward; to whome the Secretary brake this matter, requiring him to send for the Beareward to supper, and he would pay for the whole charge thereof; and besides that rather then hee should forgo his booke after this sort, the Beareward should have twenty shillings to drinke. The supper was prepared. The Beareward was sent for, and came. After supper the matter was intreated of, and twenty shillings offered for the booke. But do what could bee done, neither friendship, acquaintance, nor yet reward of money could obtaine the booke out of his handes, but that the same should be delivered unto some of the Councell that would not so sleightly looke on so waightie a matter, as to have it redeemed for a supper, or a piece of money. The honest man M. Blage with many good reasons would have perswaded him not to be stiffe in his owne conceite, declaring that in the

end

end hee should nothing at all prevaile of his purpose, but bee laught to scorne, getting neither peny nor prayse for his travell. Hee hearing that, rushed sodainly out of the doores from his friend maister Blage, without any manner of thankes giving for his supper, more like a Beareward, than like an honest man. When the Secretary saw the matter so extreamlie to be used against him, he then thought it expedient to fall from any farther practising of intreatie with the Beareward, as with him that seemed rather to be a Beare himselfe, than the master of the beast, determining the next morning to make the Lord Cromwell privy of the chance that hapned.

So on the next day, as the Lord Cromwell went to the Court, the Secretarie declared the whole matter unto him, and how he had offered him twenty shillings for the finding thereof. Where is the fellowe, quoth the Lord Cromwell? I suppose, sayd the Secretarie, that he is now in the Court attending to deliver the booke unto some of the Councell. Well sayd the Lord Cromwell, it maketh no matter: go with me thither, and I shall get you your booke againe. When the Lord Cromwell came into the hall of the Court, there stood the Beareward with the booke in his hand, waiting to have delivered the same unto Syr Anthony Browne, or unto the Bishoppe of Winchester, as it was reported. To whome the Lord Cromwell sayd, Come hither fellowe; what booke hast thou there in thy hand? And with that he snatched the booke out of his hand, and looking in the booke, he sayd, I knowe this hand well enough. This is your hand, said hee to the Secretarie. But where haddest thou this booke, quoth the Lord Cromwell to the Beareward? This Gentleman lost it two dayes agoe in the Thames, saide the Beareward. Doest thou knowe whose

whose servant he is, saide the Lord Cromwell? He saith, quoth the Beareward, that he is my Lord of Canturburies servant. Why then diddest not thou deliver to him the booke, when he required it, said the Lord Cromwell? Who made thee so bold as to detaine and withhold any booke or writing from a Counsellers servant, specially being his Secretarie? It is more meeter for thee to meddle with thy Beares then with such writing; and it were not for thy Mistres sake, I would set thee fast by the feete, to teach such malepert knaves to meddle with Counsellers matters. Had not money beene well bestowed upon such a good fellowe as this is, that knoweth not a Counsellers man from a Coblers man? And with those words the Lord Cromwell went up into the Kings chamber of presence, and the Archbishops Secretarie with him, where hee found in the chamber the Lord of Canturburie. To whome he sayd, my Lord, I have found heer good stuffe for you (shewing to him the paper booke that he had in his hand) readie to bring both you and this good fellowe your man to the halter, namely if the knave Beareward nowe in the Hall, might have well compassed it. At these words the Archbishop smiled and said, he that lost the booke is like to have the worse bargaine, for besides that he was well washed in the Thames, he must write the booke faire againe: and at those wordes the Lord Cromwell cast the booke unto the Secretary, saying, I pray thee Morice go in hand therwith by and by with all expedition, for it must serve a turne. Surely my Lord, it somewhat rejoyceth me, quoth the Lord Cromwell, that the verlet might have had of your man twenty shillings for the booke, and nowe I have discharged the matter with never a penie. And shaking him well up for his overmuch malepartnes, I knowe the fellow well enough (quoth he)

he) there is not a rancker papist within this realme than hee is, most unworthy to be a servant unto so noble a Princesse. And so after humble thankes given to the Lord Cromwell, the sayd Morice departed with his booke, which when he againe had faire written, it was delivered to the Kings Majestie by the sayd Lord Cromwell, within four dayes after.

It is commonly seene, that men advanced once from base degree, to ample dignities, do rise also with fortune into such insolencie and exaltation of minde, that not onely they forget themselves what they were, and from whence they came, but also cast out of remembraunce all their olde friends and former acquaintance, which have beene to them before beneficiall. From which sort of men, how farre the curteous condition of this christen Earle did differ, by diverse examples it may appeare. As by a certaine poore woman keeping sometime a vitailing house about Hownsloe, to whome the said L. Cromwell remained in debt for certaine old reckonings, to the summe of forty shillings. It hapned that the L. Cromwell, with Cranmer Archbishop of Canturburie, riding thorow Cheape side towards the Court, in turning his eye over the way, and there espying this poore woman, brought now in neede and miserie, eftsoones caused her to be called unto him. Who being come, after certaine questions he asked her if shee were not such a woman, and dwelling in such a place. At last he demaunded, if he were not behind for a certaine payment of money betweene him and her. To whome shee with reverent obeysance, confessed that he owed her money for a certain old reckoning which was yet unpayd, whereof shee stood now in great necessitie, but never durst call upon him, nor could come at him for to require her right. Then the

L. Cromwell sending the poore woman home to his house, and one of his servants withall, that the Porter should let her in, after his returne from the Court, not onelie discharged the debt which he owed, but also gave her a yearely pension of foure pounds, and a livery everie yeere while she lived.

The like curtesie the said L. Cromwell shewed also to a certaine Italian, who in the Citie of Florence, had shewed him much kindnes in succoring and relieving his necessitie, as in this storie following may appeare. Which storie set forth and compiled in the Italian tongue by Bandello, and imprinted at Luke by Busdrago, an. 1554. I thought heere to insert, with the whole order and circumstance thereof, as it is reported.

" Not many yeares past, sayth the author, there was in Florence a Merchant, whose name was Fraunces, descended from the noble and auncient familie of the Frescobalds. This Gentleman was naturally indued with a noble and liberall minde, unto whome also through prosperous successe and fortunate lucke in his affaires and doings, much aboundance of riches increased, so that hee grew in great wealth, having his cofers replenished with many heapes of much treasure. He according to the custome of Marchants, used his trade into many countries, but chiefly into England, where long time hee lived, sojourning in London, keeping house to his great commendation and prayse.

It happened, that Fraunces Frescobald being in Florence, there appeared before him a poore young man, asking his almes for Gods sake. Frescobald as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling, who was not so disguised in his tattered attire, but that his countenaunce gave signification of much towardnes and vertue in him, with conformitie of manners agreeing to the same, being moved with pitie, demaunded

maunded of what countrey he was, and where he was borne. I am Syr (quoth hee) of England, and my name is Thomas Cromwell. My father is a poore man, and by his occupation a cloth shearer[5]. I am strayed from my countrey, and am now come into Italy with the campe of Frenchmen that were overthrowne at Gatilyon, where I was the page to a footman, carying after him his pike and burganet. Frescobald partlie considering the present state of this yong man, and partly for the love he bare to the English nation, of whome he had receiv'd in times past sundrie pleasures, received him into his house, and with such curtesie entertained his guest, as at his departure when he was in minde to returne to his countrey, he provided such necessaries as he any way needed. Hee gave him both horse and new apparell, and sixteen duckats of gold in his purse, to bring him into his countrey. Cromwell rendring his heartie thankes, tooke leave of his host and returned into England. This Cromwell was a man of noble courage and heroicall spirit, given to enterprise great matters, very liberall, and a grave Counseller, &c. But to our purpose.

At what time Cromwell was so highly favoured of his Prince, and advanced to such dignitie as is aforesaid, Francis Frescobald (as it many times hapneth unto Merchants) was by many misfortunes and great losses, cast backe and become verie poore. For according to conscience and equitie, he payd whatsoever was due to any other from himselfe, but such debts as were owing unto him, he could by

[5] *A cloth shearer.*] Fox, in a marginal note on this passage says, that "this cloth-shearer was his father in law:" and above p. 273 he tells us that he was "a Smith's-Sonne, and that his mother married after to a *shyreman*." Cardinal Pole's words are, "*pater ejus* pannis verrendis victum quæritabat."

no meanes obtaine: yet calling further to remembrance that in England by certaine merchants there was due to him the summe of fifteen thousand Ducates, he so purposed with himselfe, that if he could recover that mony, he would well content himself, and no longer deale in the trade of merchants, but quietly passe over the rest of his daies.

All things prepared for his journey, he setting forward towards England, at last arrived at London, having utterly forgotten what curtesie long before he had shewed to Cromwell, which is the property alwaies of a good nature, for a man to forget what benefites hee hath shewed to other, but to keep in minde continually what he hath received of other. Frescobald thus being now arrived at London, and there travelling earnestly about his businesse, it chanced him by the way to meete with this noble man, as he was riding toward the Court. Whome, as soone as the said Lord Cromwell had espied, and had earnestly beheld, hee bethought with himselfe that hee should be the man of Florence, at whose hands in times past he had received so gentle entertainement, and thereupon sodenly alighting (to the great admiration of those that were with him) in his armes he gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voyce scarce able to refraine teares, he demaunded if hee were not Frances Frescobald the Florentine. "Yea sir (he answered) and your humble servant." "My servant (quoth Cromwell)? no, as you have not beene my servant in times past, so will I not now account you otherwayes then my great and especiall friend, assuring you that I have just reason to be sorie, that you knowing what I am (or at the least what I should be) will not let me understand of your arriving in this land, which knowne unto me, truely I should have

have payd part of that debt which I confesse to owe to you: but thanked bee God I have yet time. Well sir, in conclusion, you are hartily welcome. But having now waightie affaires in my Princes cause, you must hold mee excused, that I can no longer tarie with you. Wherefore at this time I take my leave, desiring you with the faithfull minde of a friend, that you forget not this day to come to my house to dinner:" and then in remounting on his horse, he passed to the Court. Frescobald greatly mervailing with himselfe who this Lord should be, at last after some pause, his remembraunce better called home, hee knew him to be the same, whome long before (as you have heard) he had relieved in Florence, and thereat not a little joyed, especially considering how that by his meanes he should the better recover his duetie.

The houre of dinner drawing neere, he repayred to the house of this honourable Counsellour, where walking awhile in his base Court, he attended his comming. The Lord shortly returned from the Court, and no sooner dismounted, but hee againe embraced this Gentleman, with so friendly a countenance, that both the Lord Admirall, and all the other noble men of the Court being then in his companie, did not a little marvell thereat.

Which thing when the Lord Cromwell perceived, hee turning towards them, and holding Frescobald fast by the hand; "Do ye not mervaile my Lords (quoth he) that I seeme so glad of this man? This is he by whose meanes I have atchieved the degree of this my present calling: and because ye shall not be ignorant of his curtesie when I greatly needed, I shall tell it you:" and so there declared unto them everie thing in order according as before hath beene recited unto you. His tale finished, holding him still by the hand, hee entered his house,

house, and comming into the Chamber, where his dinner was prepared, he sate him downe to the Table, placing his best welcommed guest next unto him.

The dinner ended, and the Lords departed, he would know what occasion had brought Frescobald to London. Frances in few words opened his cause, truely telling, that from great wealth, he was fallen into povertie, and that his only portion to maintaine the rest of his life, was fifteen thousand Ducates which were owing him in England, and two thousand in Spaine. Whereunto the Lord Cromwell answering againe, said, "touching the things Maister Frescobald that be alreadie past, although it cannot now be undone by mans power, nor by policie called againe, which hath hapned unto you by the unstable condition and mutabilitie of this world altering to and fro: yet is not your sorrow so peculiar to your selfe alone, but that by the bond of mutuall love, I must also bewaile with you this your state and condition: which state and condition of yours, though it may worke in you matter of just heavines, yet notwithstanding, to the intent you may receive in this your heavie distresse some consolation for your olde curtesie shewed to me in times past, the like curtesie now requireth of me againe, that I likewise should repay some portion of that debt wherein I stand bound unto you, according as the part of a thankfull man bindeth me to do, in requiting your benefites on my part heretofore received. And this further I avouch in the word of a true friend, that during this life and state of mine, I will never faile to do for you, wherein my authoritie may prevaile to supply your lacke and necessitie. And so let these few words suffice to give you knowledge of my friendly meaning. But let me delaie the time no longer."

Then taking him by the hand, hee led him into his chamber, whence, after that everie man by his commaundement was departed, he locked fast the doore. Then opening a cofer full heaped with treasure, he first tooke out sixteene Ducates, and delivering them to Frescobald, he said: "Loe heere (my friend) is your money which you lent me at my departure from Florence, and heere other tenne which you bestowed in my apparell, with tenne more that you disbursed for the horse I rid away on. But considering you are a Merchant, it seemeth to mee not honest to returne your money without some consideration for the long detaining of it. Take you therefore these four bags, and in everie of them is four hundred ducates, these you shall receive and enjoy from the hands of your assured friend."

Frescobald, although from great wealth he was brought to a lowe ebbe, and (almost) an utter decay, yet expressing the vertue of a modest minde, after gentle thankes given to the Lord Cromwell for his exceeding kindnesse shewed, curteously would have refused that which was offered, had not the other enforced him against his will to receive it.

This done, he caused Frescobald to give him a note of the names of all his debters, and the summe that from everie one of them was owing him. This schedule he delivered to one of his servants, unto whom he gave charge diligentlie to search out such men whose names therein were contained, if they were within any part of the realme, and then streightly to charge them to make payment of those summes within fifteen daies, or els to abide the hazard of his displeasure. The servant so well performed his maisters commaundement, that in verie short time they made payment of the whole summe: and

and if it had liked Frescobald so to have demaunded, they should have answered to the uttermost such commoditie, as the use of his money in so many yeares would have given him profit: but he contented with his principall, would demaund no further. By which meanes he gat both harty love and great estimation, and the more, for that he was so deer to the Lord Cromwell, and so highly esteemed of him.

And during all this time, Frescobald continuallie lodged in the house of the Lord Cromwell, who ever gave him such entertainment as he had right well deserved, and oftentimes mooved him to abide in England, offering him the loan of sixty thousand Ducates, for the space of foure yeares, if he would continue and make his banke in London. But Frescobald, who desired to returne into his countrey, and there quietly to continue the rest of his life, with the great favour of the Lord Cromwell, after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his desired home, where richly arriving, he gave himselfe quietly to live. But this wealth he small time enjoyed, for in the first year of his returne he died.

So plentifull was the life of this man in such fruites full of singular gratitude and curtesie, that to rehearse all, it would require too long a tractation. Yet one example amongst many other I may not overpasse, whereby wee may evidently consider or rather marvell at the lowly minde of such a person, in so high a state and place of honour. For as hee comming with other of the Lords of the Counsayle and commissioners, to the house of Shene, about the examination of certaine Monks which there denied the Kings supremacie, after the examination done was there sitting at dinner, it chanced him to spie a farre off a certaine

poore man, which there served to sweepe their Celle and Cloister, and to ring the bels. Whome when the Lord Cromwell had well advised, he sent for the poore man to come unto him, and before all the table most lovinglie and friendly calling him by his name, tooke him by the hand, and asked how he did, with many other good words, and turning therewith to the Lordes; "My Lordes (quoth hee) see you this poore man? This mans father hath beene a great friend to mee in my necessitie, and hath given mee manie a meales meate." Then said he unto the poore man, "come unto me and I will provide for thee, and thou shalt not lack so long as I live." Such as were there present and sawe and heard the same, report it to be true.

In this worthy and noble person, besides divers other eminent vertues, three things especially are to be considered, to wit, flourishing authoritie, excelling wisedome, and fervent zeale to Christ and to his Gospell. First, as touching his fervent zeale in setting forward the sinceritie of Christian faith, sufficient is to be seene before by the injunctions, proclamations, and articles above specified, that more cannot almost be wished in a noble man, and scarse the like hath beene seene in any.

Secondly, for his wisedome and policie no lesse singular, joyned with his christen zeale; he brought great things to passe, as well on this side the sea, as in the other parts beyond. But especially his working was to nourish peace abroad with forreine realmes, as may well by the kings letters and instructions sent by his meanes to his Ambassador resident both with the Emperour, the French King, and the King of Scots, and also with the Pope, appeare. In all whose courts, such watch and espiall he had, that nothing there was done, nor pretended, whereof he before had not intelligence.

Neither

Neither was there any sparke of mischiefe kindling never so little against the King and the Realme, which hee by wit and policie did not quench and keepe downe. And where policie would not serve to obtaine peace, yet by money he bought it out: so that during all the time of Cromwels prosperitie, the King never had warre with any forreine nation: notwithstanding, that both the Pope, the Emperour, the Kings of Fraunce and Scotland, were mightily bent and incensed against him.

Thus, as the prudent policie of this man was ever circumspect abroad, to stay the Realme from forreine warres; so his authoritie was no lesse occupied in keeping good order and rule at home: First, in hampering the popish prelates, and disappointing their subtle devises: secondly, in bridling and keeping other unruly subjects under subjection and discipline of the lawes. Whereby, as he was a succour and refuge to all godly persons, so was hee a terror to the evill doers: so that not the presence of him onely, but also the hearing of the comming of Cromwell brake many fraies, and much evill rule: as well appeared by a certaine notorious fray or riot, appointed to be fought by a companie of ruffians in the streete of London called Pater noster rowe, where cartes were set on both sides of purpose, prepared to enclose them, that none might breake in to part them. It hapned, that as this desperate skirmish should begin, the Lord Cromwell comming the same time from the Court through Paules churchyard, and entering into Cheape, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and because of the carts he could not come at them, but was forced to goe about the little conduit, and so came upon them through Pannier Alley.

Thus as the conflict began to waxe hot, and the people were standing by in great expectation to see them

them fight, sodainly at the noise of the Lord Cromwels comming, the campe brake up, and the Ruffians began to goe, neither could the carts keepe in those so courageous campers, but well was he that first could be gone. And so ceased this tumultuous outrage, without any other parting, only thorough the authoritie of the Lord Cromwels name.

One example more of the like affinitie commeth heere in minde, which ought not to be omitted, concerning a certaine serving man of the like ruffianly order, who thinking to dissever himself from the common usage of all other men in strange newfanglenes of fashions by himselfe (as many there bee whom nothing doth please, which is daiely seene and received) used to go with his haire hanging about his eares downe unto his shoulders, after a strange monstrous manner, counterfeiting belike the wild Irish men, or els *Crinitus Joppas*, which Virgil speaketh of, as one wearie of his owne English fashion: or else as one ashamed to be seene like a man, would rather go like a woman, or like to one of the Gorgon sisters; but most of all like to himselfe, that is, like to a Ruffian[6], that could not tell how to go.

As this Ruffian ruffling thus with his locks was walking in the streetes, as chance was, who should meete him but the Lord Cromwell? who beholding

[6] *Like to a Ruffian.*] In the year 1608 Archbishop Bancroft, then Chancellor of the University of Oxford, gave directions, as we are told by Anth. a Wood, to prevent "occasions of offence, that long hair was not to be worn by the students: for whereas in the reign of Q. Elizabeth few or none wore their hair longer than their ears (for they that did so were accounted by the graver and elder sort, *swaggerers and ruffians*), now it was common, even among the Scholars, who were to be examples of modesty, gravity and decency." *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 298. edit. 1796.

the

the deforme and unseemlie manner of his disguised going, full of much vanitie and hurtfull example, called the man to question with him whose servant hee was: which being declared, then was he demaunded, whether his maister or anie of his fellowes used so to go with such haire about their shoulders as he did, or no? Which when he denied, and was not able to yeeld any reason for refuge of that his monstrous disguising, at length he fell to this excuse, that he had made a vowe. To this the Lord Cromwell answered againe, that for so much as he had made himselfe a votarie, he would not force him to breake his vowe, but untill his vowe should be expired, he should lye the meane time in prison, and so sent him immediately to the Marshalsey, where he endured, till at length this *intonsus Cato*, being perswaded by his maister to cut his haire, by suit and petition of friends, was brought againe to the Lord Cromwell with his head polled, according to the accustomed sort of his other fellowes, and so was dismissed.

Heereunto also pertaineth the example of Frier Bartley, who wearing still his friers coule after the suppression of religious houses, Cromwell coming thorough Paules church-yard, and espying him in Rheines his shop, "yea sayd he, will not that coule of yours be left off yet? And if I heare by one a clocke that this apparell be not changed, thou shalt be hanged immediatly for example to all other." And so putting his coule away, he never durst weare it after.

If the same Lord Cromwell, which could not abide this servingman so disfigured in his haire, were now in these our daies a-live, with the same authoritie which then he had, and sawe these new-fangled fashions of attire, used heere amongst us both of men and women, I suppose verily, that neither

neither these monstrous ruffes, nor these prodigious hose, and prodigall or rather hyperbolicall barbarous breeches (which seeme rather like barels then breeches) would have any place in England. In which unmeasurable excesse of vesture, this I have to marvell; first, how these serving men, which commonly have nothing els but their wages, and that so slender and bare, can maintaine such slops, so huge and so sumptuous, which commonly stand them in more, then their three yeares wages doe come unto. Secondly, I marvell, that their maisters and Lords (who shall yeelde to God account of their servants doings) do not search and trie out their servants walkes, how they come by these expenses, wherewith to uphold this braverie, seeing their stipendarie wages, and all revenues else they have, will not extend thereunto. Thirdly, this most of all is to be marveiled, that Magistrates which have in their hands the ordering and guiding of good lawes, do not provide more severely for the needfull reformation of these enormities. But heere we may well see, and truely this may say, that England once had[7] a Cromwell.

[7] *England once had.*] But even in King Henry's days, there was not much to boast of in this respect, if we may judge from the frequent complaints of zealous preachers against the follies and extravagance of their contemporaries. Thus in a Sermon preached A. D. 1545, by Cuthbert Scot, afterwards Bishop of Chester. "May we not" (it is said) "see a serving man havynge not paste four nobles, or forty shillings wages to lyve upon, so gorgiously appareled in his gesture, and behaveure of his body; in his pace, and goynge so to use himselfe, as if he were a man of substaunce, yea an esquier or a knyght. And yf a man wolde have experience further of his maners and conditions, he shall fynde hym stout in wordes, lyberall, yea prodigall, in expenses, and all together gyven to preferre himself unto other men." Signat. H 3. imprinted by Johannes Herford. See also *Supplication to King Henry VIII.* Signat. D 1—D 2. A. D. 1544. and Becon's *Jewell of Joy.* Works. Vol. II. fol. 19—20.

Long

Long it were to recite what innumerable benefites this worthy Counsellour by his prudent policie, his grave authoritie and perfect zeale wrought and brought to passe in the publike Realme; and especially in the Church of England, what good orders he established, what wickednes and vices he suppressed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuses he brought to light, what craftie jugglings, what idolatrous deceptions, and superstitious illusions hee detected and abolished out of the Church. What posteritie will ever thinke the Church of the Pope pretending such religion, to have beene so wicked, so long to abuse the peoples eyes, with an olde rotten stocke (called the Roode of grace[8]) wherein a man should stand inclosed, with an hundreth wyers within the Roode, to make the Image goggle with the eies, to nod with the head, to hang the lip, to moove and shake his jawes according as the valew was of the gift which was offered? If it were a small piece of silver, he would hang a frowning lip, if it were a piece of golde, then should his jawes go merily. Thus miserably was the people of Christ abused, their soules seduced, their senses beguiled, and their purses spoyled, till this Idolatrous forgerie at last, by Cromwels meanes was

[8] *The roode of grace.*] This was a celebrated image at Boxley in Kent. The fraud was suspected and detected by one Nicholas Partridge: after which the whole apparatus was brought to London to be exposed to the people, Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, preaching at the same time a Sermon on the occasion. See Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation.* Vol. I. p. 232. Vol. III. p. 132. See also Hottingeri *Histor. Ecclesiast.* Tom. IX. p. 43—46.

In Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent*, p. 182—185. edit. 1576, is a full and entertaining account, how this Image was first made, and of the circumstances of its first setting up in the Abbey of Boxley, taken from a description published in honour of the rood by the Monks of that place.

disclosed,

disclosed, and the Image with all his engines shewed openly at Paules Crosse, and there torne in pieces by the people. The like was done by the bloud of Hales, which in like maner by Cromwell, was brought to Paules Crosse, and there proved to be the bloud of a ducke[9].

Who

[9] *Bloud of a ducke.*] "Edmund, the son and heir of Richard Earl of Cornwall, who was second son to King John, being with his father in Germany, there beholding the relicks, and other precious monuments of the antient Emperors, he espied a box of gold; by the inscription whereof he perceived (as the opinion of men then gave) that therein was contained a portion of the blood of our blessed Savior.

He therefore being desirous to have some part thereof, by fair entreaty and money obtained his desire, and brought the box over with him into England, bestowing a third part thereof on the Abbey of Hales, which his father had founded, and wherein his father and mother were both buried, thereby to enrich the said monastry." Weever's *Funeral Monuments*. Disc. p. 138. edit. 1767.

But this is not the *only* account given, of the manner, in which the Monks became possessed of this precious treasure. A Christian, it seems, once upon a time, lived in a city, in which were many Jews; this man had a rood, to which he did worship and honour, after his cunning. It so happened, that he changed his abode, and unwittingly left the rood behind him. A Jew succeeded him in the possession of his habitation: who soon after making an entertainment for his friends of his own religion, they discovered the rood, which had passed unperceived by their host. Upon this discovery they immediately accused him of apostatizing to Christianity, beat the poor Man, and dragged him about the house. They then took the Image, beat it, scourged it, and crowned it with thorns; and at the last they made the strongest of them take a spear, and with all his might smite it to the heart. And anon bloud and water ran out of the sides. Then were they sore afraid, and said "Let us take pots, and fill them with this blood, and bear it to the Temple, to the sick people, to anoint them therewith: and if they be made whole by the blood, then let us cry God mercy, and be christened man and woman." The sick were healed accordingly. Then went the Jews to the Bishop of the city, and told him all that had happened;

Who would have judged, but that the mayd of Kent[1] had beene an holy woman and a prophetesse inspired,

pened: and anon he kneeled down on his knees, and thanked God for this fair miracle: and when he had christened the Jews, he took Phials of Glass, Christal, and Amber, and filling them with this blood, sent it about to divers churches; *and of this blood, as many men understand, came the blood of Hales.* Festival. fol. 103.

I shall now present the reader with an account of this imposture, from a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, of a work written in the first year of King Edward VI. by William Thomas, Clerk to the Council, in the reign of that Monarch.

"One thing I shall tell you especially. In a certaine Monasterie called Hayles, there was a great offering to the blood of Christ, brought thither many yeares agone out of the holie land of Jerusalem. And this bloud had such vertue, that as long as the Pilgrim were in deadly sinne, his sight would not serve him to regard it: but incontinently as he was in the state of grace, he should cleerely behold it. See heere the craft of these develish soule-quellers! It behoved the person that came thither to see it, first to confesse himself, and then paying a certayne (sum) to the common (stock) of the Monasterie, to enter into a Chapel, upon the Aulter whereof this bloud should be shewed him. This meane while, by a secret way behind the Aultar came the Monke that had confessed him, and presented upon the Aultar a Pixe of Crystall, great and thicke as a bowle on the one side, and thinne as a glasse on the other side; in the which the bloud on the thinner side was open and cleere to the sight, and on the thicke side impossible to be discerned. Now if this holie confessour thought by the confession that he had heard, that the qualitie of the partie confessed would yeeld him more money, then shewed he forthe the thicke side of the Pixe, through which the bloud was invisible, so that the person seeing himself remayning in deadly sinne, must turn, and return unto his confessour, till by paying for Masses, and other such almes, he had purchased the sight of the thinne side of the Cristall; and then was he safe in the favour of God, untill he fell in sinne agayne. And what bloud, trow you, was this? These Monks (for there were two specially and secretly appointed to this office) every Saturday killed a Ducke, and renued therewith this consecrated bloud, as they themselves confessed, not only in secret, but also openly

inspired, had not Cromwell and Cranmer tried her at Paules crosse?

What should I speak of Darvell Gartheren[2], of the Roode of Chester, of Thomas Becket, our Lady of Walsingham, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinitie? All which stockes and blockes of cursed idolatrie, Cromwell, stirred up by the providence of God, remooved out of the peoples way, that they might walke more safely in the sincere service of almightie God.

While the Lord Cromwell was thus blessedly occupied in profiting the common wealth, and purging the Church of Christ, it hapned to him, as commonly it doth to all good men, that where any excellency of vertue appeareth, there envie creepeth

openly before an approved audience. And was this miracle think you alone? No! Alas, if I should, &c." Thomas's *Pelegrin Inglese* or *Apology for Henry VIII.* p. 70—72. Lambeth. MSS. No. 464. "The King himself (Thomas further informs us) was, till God opened his eyes, blinde in these matters and obstinate as the rest," which account is confirmed by a passage in Latimer's seventh sermon preached before King Edward VI.—"the bloud of Hales, woe worth it; *what a doe was it to bring it out of the Kinges head!* This great abomination of the bloud of Hales could not be taken for a great while out of his minde." Latimer's *Sermons.* fol. 84. b. edit. 1584.

But when it is said that this liquid was the blood of a Duck, I must not neglect to mention, that Thomas Hearne has printed the report of the Commissioners who were sent to examine into this pretended miracle at the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries. From this report it appears that the contents of the Pix were neither more nor less than *clarified honey*, "which being in a glasse, appeared to be of a glistering redde, resemblynge partly the color of Blod." Petri Benedicti *Vita Henrici* 2. Vol. II. p. 752.

[1] *The mayd of Kent.*] See Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. I. p. 143—147; Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials.* Vol. I. p. 176—183, and Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent.* p. 149—153.

[2] *Darvell Gatheren.*] Fox. p. 1005, and Burnet, Vol. I. p. 232—234. Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor.* Vol. I. p. 251 &c.

in, and where true pietie seeketh most after Christ, there some persecution followeth withall.

Thus (I say) as he was labouring in the commonwealth, and doing good to the poore afflicted saints, helping them out of trouble, the malice of his enemies so wrought, continually hunting for matter against him, that they never ceased, till in the end, they by false traines and craftie surmises, brought him out of the Kings favour.

The chiefe and principall enemie against him, was Steven Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, who ever disdaining and envying the state and felicitie of the Lord Cromwell, and now taking his occasion by the mariage of Ladie Anne[3] of Cleve, being a stranger and forreiner, put in the Kings eares what a perfect thing it were to the quiet of the realme, and establishment of the Kings succession, to have an English Queene and Prince that were meere English; so that in conclusion, the Kings affection, the more it was diminished from the late maried Anne of Cleve, the lesse favour he bare unto Cromwell. Besides this Gardiner, there lacked not other backe friends also, and ill willers in the Court about the King, which little made for Cromwell both for his religion which they maligned, and for other private grudges also incident by the way.

Over and besides all which, it is moreover supposed, that some part of displeasure might rise against him, by reason of a certaine talke which hapned a little time before at Lambeth, at what time the King after the making of the six Articles, sent the sayd Lord Cromwell his Vicegerent, with the two Dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke, with

[3] *By the mariage of Ladie Anne.*] See Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*. Vol. I. p. 114. edit. 4.

all

all the Lords of the Parliament to Lambeth, to dine with the Archbishop (who mightily had disputed and alledged in the Parliament against the said Articles) to cheare and comfort his daunted spirits againe.

There the said Lord Cromwell with the other noble Lords sitting with the Archbishop at his table in talke, as everie Lord brought forth his sentence in commendation of Cranmer, to signifie what good will both the King and they bare unto him; among the rest one of the companie entring into a comparison between the sayd Thomas Cranmer, and Thomas Wolsey late Cardinall of Yorke, declared in his judgement, that Cranmer was much to be preferred for his milde and gentle nature, whereas the Cardinall was a stubborne and a churlish prelate, and one that could never abide any noble man, and that (sayd he) knowe you well enough, my Lord Cromwell, for he was your Master, &c. At these wordes the Lord Cromwell being somewhat touched to heare the Cardinals service cast in his teeth, inferred againe saying; that he could not denie but he was servant sometime to Cardinall Wolsey; neither did repent the same, for he received of him both fee, meate, and drinke, and other commodities: but yet he was never so farre in love with him, as to have waited upon him to Rome, if he had beene chosen Pope, as he understoode that he would have done if the case had so fallen out. Which when the other had denied to be true, Cromwell still persisted, affirming the same, and shewing moreover what number of Florens hee should have received, to be his Admirall, and to have safe conducted him to Rome, in case he had beene elected Bishop of Rome. The partie not a little mooved with these words, told him, he lyed. The other againe affirmed it to be true.

true. Upon this, great and high words rose betweene them. Which contention, although it was through intreatie of the Archbishop and other nobles somewhat pacified for the time, yet it might be, that some bitter roote of grudge remained behinde, which afterward grew unto him to some displeasure. And this was, an. 1540. in the moneth of July.

After this, the next yeare following, which was 1541. in the moneth of April, was holden a Parliament, which after divers prorogations, was continued till the moneth of July the sayd yeare. In the which moneth of July, the Lord Cromwell being in the counsaile chamber, was sodainly apprehended, and committed to the Tower of London. Whereat, as many other good men which knewe nothing but truth by him, did lament, and prayed hartily for him, so moe there were on the contrary side that rejoiced, especially of the religious sort, and of the Clergy, such as had beene in some dignitie before in the Church, and now by his meanes were put from it. For indeed, such was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kinde of Poperie, nor of false religion creeping under hypocrisie, and lesse could he abide the ambitious pride of Popish Prelacie, which professing all humilitie, was so elated in pride, that kings could not rule in their owne Realmes for them. These snuffing Prelates as he could never abide, so they againe hated him as much, which was the cause of shortning his dayes, and to bring him to his ende: So that the nineteenth day of the month aforesayde, hee was attainted by Parliament.

In the which Attainder, [4] divers and sundrie crimes,

[4] *In the which Attainder.*] The Attainder may be found in Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation.* Vol. I. Book. 3. numb. 16. Records.

surmises, objections and accusations, were brought against him, but chiefly and above all other, hee was charged and accused of heresie, for that he was a supporter of them (whome they recounted for heretickes) as Barnes, Clarke, and manie other whome he by his authoritie and letters written to Shiriffes and Justices in divers Shires rescued and discharged out of prison. Also that he did divulgate and disperse abroad amongest the kings subjects, great numbers of bookes, containing (as they sayd) manifest matter of much heresie, diffidence, and misbeliefe. Item, that hee caused to be translated into our english tongue, bookes comprising matter expressly against the Sacrament of the aultar; & that after the translation thereof, he commended and maintained the same for good and christian doctrine. Over and besides all this, they brought in certaine witnesses (what they were, the attainder expresseth not) which most especially pressed (or rather oppressed) him with hainous words spoken against the king in the Church of S. Peter the poore, in the moneth of March, in the thirtieth yeare of the kings raigne. Which words if they be true, as the Attainder doth purport, three things I have heere to mervaile much at. First, if his adversaries had so sure hold & matter against him, then what should moove them to make such hastie speede in all post haste to have him dispatched and rid out of the way, and in no case could abide him to come to his purgation[5];

[5] *To come to his purgation.*] "In Parliament he is accused of treason and heresy, and unheard is attainted. Some do observe that he procured that law of attainting by Parliament, without hearing the party, and that himself was the first that by that law died unheard; for in July following he was thereupon beheaded." Sir H. Spelman *De non temerandis Ecclesiis.* p. 32. edit. 1704. But see Fullers *Church Hist.* centur. 16. p. 234, and Colliers *Ec. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 180.

Which

Which if he might have done, it is not otherwise to be thought, but hee would easily have cleered himselfe thereof.

Secondly, this I marvell, that if the wordes had beene so hainous against the king, as his enemies did pretend, why then did those witnesses which heard those words in S. Peters Church, in the thirtieth yeare of the kings raigne, conceale the sayd wordes of such treason so long, the space almost of two yeares, and now uttered the same in the thirty-second yeare of the kings raigne, in the moneth of July?

Thirdly, here is again to be marvelled, if the king had knowne or beleeved these words to be true, and that Cromwell had beene indeede such a traytour to his person, why then did the king so shortly after lament his death, wishing to have his Cromwell alive againe? What Prince will wish the life of him whome he suspecteth undoubtedly to be a traytor to his life and person? whereby it may appeare what judgment the king had of Cromwell in himselfe, howsoever the Parliament by sinister information was otherwise incensed to judge upon him.

Not that I heere speake or meane against the high court of Parliament of this our Realm necessarily assembled for the common wealth, to whome I alwayes attribute their due reverence and authoritie. But as it hapneth sometimes in generall Councels, which though they be never so generall, yet notwithstanding sometimes they may and do erre in waightie matters of religion: so likewise they that say, that Princes & Parliaments may be misinformed sometimes, by some sinister heads, in matters civil & politike, do not therein derogate or empaire the high estate of Parliaments, but rather give wholesome admonition to Princes & Parliament

men, to be more circumspect and vigilant what counsell they shall admit, and what witnesses they do credit. For private affection, which commonly beareth a great stroke in all societies and doings of men, creepeth sometimes into such generall Counsels, and into Princes Courts also, either too much amplifying thinges, that bee but small, making mountaines of molehils, or else too much extenuating things that bee of themselves great and waightie, according as it is truely sayd of the Poet Juvenal;

Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas,

Or as our English Proverbe sheweth; As a man is friended, so is his matter ended: And where the hedge is lowe, a man may lightly make large leapes: or rather to speake after the French phrase: *Qui son chien veult tuer, la rage luy met sus.* That is; He that is disposed to have his dog killed, first maketh men beleeve that he is mad. And thus much having declared touching the matter of his accusation, the rest I referre to the high Parliament of that mightie king, who shall one day bring all things to perfect light.

In the mean season, howsoever the cause of the Lord Cromwell standeth true or false, this is certaine, that Steven Gardiner lacked not an head, nor yet privie assisters, which cunningly could fetch this matter about, and watch their time, when as the king being disposed to marrie another wife, which was the Lady Katherine Howard, immediately after the beheading of the Lord Cromwell, did repudiate Lady Anne of Cleve, which otherwise is to be thought during the life of Cromwell, could not so well be brought to passe.

But these things being now done and past, let us passe them over and returne againe to the Lord

Cromwell, being now attainted and committed to the Tower. Who so long as hee went with full sayle of fortune, how moderately, & how temperately hee did ever beare himselfe in his estate, before hath beene declared: So now the sayd Lord Cromwell, alwayes one man, by the contrarie winde of adversitie being overblowen, received the same with no lesse constancie, and patience of a christian hart. Neither yet was he so unprovided of counsaile and forecast, but that hee did foresee this tempest long before it fell, and also prepared for the same: for two yeares before, smelling the conspiracie of his adversaries, and fearing what might happen, he called unto him his servants, and there shewing unto them in what a slipperie state he stoode, and also perceiving some stormie weather already to gather, required them to looke diligently to their order and doings, least through their default any occasion might rise against him. And furthermore, before the time of his apprehension, such order he tooke for his servants, that many of them, especially the younger brethren, which had little els to take unto, had honestly left for them in their friends hands to relieve them, whatsoever should him befall.

Briefly, such a loving and kinde master he was to his servants, that he provided aforehand almost for them all: In so much, that he gave to twelve children which were his Musitians, twentie pound a peece, and so committed them to their friends: of whome some yet remaine alive, who both enjoyed the same, and also gave record of this to be true.

Furthermore, being in the Tower a prisoner, how quietly he bare it, how valiantly he behaved himselfe, how gravely and discretly he aunswered and entertained the Commissioners sent unto him, it is worthie of noting. Whatsoever articles and

interrogatories they propounded, they could put nothing unto him, either concerning matters ecclesiasticall or temporall, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furnished in everie condition than they themselves.

Amongst the rest of those Commissioners which came unto him; one there was, whome the Lord Cromwell desired to cary from him a letter to the king, which when he refused, saying that he would cary no letter to the king from a traytor; then the Lord Cromwell desired him at least to do from him a message to the king. To that the other was contented, and graunted, so that it were not against his allegeance. Then the Lord Cromwell taking witnesse of the other Lords, what hee had promised; "You shall commend mee (sayd he) to the king, and tell him, by that he hath so well tryed, and throughly prooved you as I have done, he shall finde you as false a man as ever came about him."

Besides this, he wrote also a letter from the[6] Tower to the king, whereof when none durst take the cariage upon him, Sir Ralfe Sadler (whome he also had preferred to the king before, being ever trustie and faithful unto him) went to the king to understand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the letter or not. Which when the king had graunted, the sayd M. Sadler, as he was required, presented the letter unto the king, which he commanded thrise to bee read unto him, in so much as the King seemed to be moved therewith.

Notwithstanding, by reason of the Acte of Parliament afore passed, the worthie and noble Lord

[6] *Letter from the Tower.*] Bishop Burnet in his History of the Reformation has published two Letters from Cromwell to the King, both written from the Tower, the one, which seems to have been first written, in Vol. III. B. 3. No. 68. Appendix, the other, dated, "the last of June", in Vol. I. B. 3. No. 17.

Cromwell

Cromwell oppressed by his enemies, & condemned in the Tower, and not comming to his answere, the 28. day of July, an. 1541. was brought to the scaffold[7] on Tower hill, where he sayd these words following.

" I am come hither to die, and not to purge my selfe, as some thinke peradventure that I will. For if I should so do, I were a very wretch and a miser. I am by the law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this

[7] *Brought to the scaffold.*] " Wherein is to be noted how mightily the Lord worketh with his grace and fortitude in the hearts of his servants, especially in such which causelesse suffer with guiltlesse conscience for his religions sake, above other, which suffer otherwise for their desertes. For whereas they that suffer as malefactors, commonlie are wont to goe heavie and pensive to their death, so the other with heavenlie allacrity and chearfulnesse doe abide whatsoever it pleaseth the Lord to lay upon them. Example whereof we have right well to note, not onlie in these three godlie martyrs above mentioned, but also in the Lord Cromwell, who suffered but two dayes before, the same no lesse may appeare; who although he was brought to his death, attainted and condemned by the Parliament, yet what a guiltlesse conscience he bare to his death, his christian patience well declareth.

Who first calling for his breakfast, and therewith eating the same, and after that passing out of his Prison, downe the hill within the Tower, and meeting there by the way the Lord Hungerford, going likewise to his execution (who for matter here not to be spoken of, was there also imprisoned) and perceiving him to be all heavy and doleful, with chearful countenance and comfortable words, asking him why he was so heavy, hee willed him to pluck up his heart, and to bee of good comfort: for sayd he, there is no cause for you to feare. For if you repent & be heartilie sorie for that you have done, there is for you mercie enough of the Lord, who for Christe's sake will forgive you: and therefore be not dismaid; and though the breakfast which we are going to be sharpe, yet trusting in the mercie of the Lord, we shall have a joyfull dinner." And so went they together to the place of execution, and toke their death patientlie." Fox's *Acts*. p. 1095.

death

death for mine offence. For sithence the time that I have had yeares of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I aske him heartily forgivenes. And it is not unknowne to many of you, that I have beene a great traveller in this world; and being but of a base degree, was called to high estate, and sithence the time I came thereunto, I have offended my Prince, for the which I aske him hartily forgivnes, and beseech you all pray to God with mee, that he will forgive me. And now I pray you that be heere, to beare me record, I die in the catholicke faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no nor doubting in any sacrament of the Church. Manie have slaundered me, and reported that I have beene a bearer of such as have maintained evill opinions, which is untrue. But I confesse, that like as God by his holy spirit doth instruct us in the truth, so the devill is ready to seduce us, and I have beene seduced, but beare me witnesse that I die in the catholicke faith [8] of the holy church. And I hartily desire

[8] *I die in the catholicke faith.*] "The general terms wherein this speech is couched" (says Fuller) "have given occasion for wise men to give contrary judgments thereof." Cent. 16. p. 233. Accordingly Burnet remarks, "By what he spake at his death, he left it much doubted of what religion he died. But" (continues the Bishop) "it is certain he was a Lutheran. The term catholick faith used by him in his last speech, seemed to make it doubtful; but that was then used in England, in its true sense, in opposition to the novelties of the see of Rome: so that his profession of the catholick faith was strangely perverted, when some from thence concluded, that he died in the Communion of the Church of Rome." *Hist. of the Reformat.* Vol. I. p. 274. edit. 4. On the other hand, Collier having these observations of Bishop Burnet in his eye, says, "I readily grant, Cromwell was no *Papist* at his death: but then, it is pretty plain, he was no *Protestant* neither . . . It is evident, that he died in the Communion of the then Church of England,

desire you to pray for the kings grace, that hee may long live with you in health and prosperitie: and that after him his sonne Prince Edward, that goodly impe, may long raigne over you. And once againe I desire you to praie for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing in my faith." And so making his praier, kneeling on his knees, he spake these words, the effect whereof heere followeth.

" O Lord Jesu, which art the onely health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee: I wretched sinner do submit my self wholly unto thy most blessed wil, and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this fraile and wicked flesh, in sure hope, that thou wilt in better wise restore it to me againe at the last day in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee most mercifull Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt by thy grace make strong my soule against all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the

England, that is, in the religion professed by King Henry the VIII." *Ecclesiast. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 181.

It appears that the rumor of Cromwell's having made a recantation at the scaffold, had spread rapidly over the Continent. Cardinal Pole in a letter to Ludovico Beccatelli dated Viterbo, Sept. 11. refers to this report; but it is material to observe that he was of opinion, that the joy, with which it had been received by the Catholics, was premature. " Vereor" (says he) " ne frustra cum Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra per literas de Cromvelli resipiscentia sim gratulatus; nec enim quæ typis sunt excusa, quæ ad me missa sunt, in quibus novissima ejus verba recitantur, *talem animum mihi exprimunt*, qualem eorum narratio, qui de ejus exitu, et de extremis verbis mecum sunt loquuti. Sed horum judicium penes Christum sit, cui nota sunt abscondita cordis, et secundum illa judicabit." Poli *Epistol.* Vol. III. p. 62. Brixiæ 1748. 4to. Comp. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. III. p. 147.

devill.

devill. I see and acknowledge that there is in my self no hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope and trust, is in thy most mercifull goodnes, I have no merits nor good works which I may alledge before thee. Of sinnes and evill workes (alas) I see a great heape: but yet thorough thy mercy, I trust to be in the number of them to whome thou wilt not impute their sinnes: but wilt take and accept me for righteous & just, and to bee the inheritour of everlasting life. Thou mercifull Lord wast borne for my sake, thou didst suffer both hunger & thirst for my sake: thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake: all thy holy actions and workes thou wroughtest for my sake: thou suffredst most grievous paines and torments for my sake: finally, thou gavest thy most precious body and thy bloud to be shed on the crosse for my sake. Now most mercifull Savior, let all these things profit me, that thou freely hast done for me; which hast given thy selfe also for me. Let thy bloud cleanse & wash away the spots and foulenes of my sinnes. Let thy righteousnes hide and cover my unrighteousnes. Let the merites of thy passion & bloudsheding be satisfaction for my sinnes. Give me Lord thy grace, that the faith of my Salvation in thy bloud waver not in me, but may ever be firme and constant; that the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me; that love waxe not cold in me: Finally, that the weaknes of my flesh be not overcome with the feare of death. Grant mee mercifull Saviour, that when death hath shut up the eies of my body, yet the eyes of my soule may still behold and look upon thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may crie and say unto thee, Lord into thy hands I commend my soule, Lord Jesu receive my spirit. Amen."

And

And thus his prayer made, after he had godly and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the scaffold, he quietly committed his soule into the hands of God, and so patiently suffered the stroke of the axe, by a ragged and butcherly miser, which verie ungodly performed the office.

Of the Bible in English printed in the large volume, and of Edmund Boner prefered to the Bishoprike of London, by the meanes of the Lord Cromwell.

About the time and yeare when Edmund Boner Bishop of Hereford, and Ambassadour resident in France, began first to be nominate and preferred by the meanes of the Lord Cromwell to the Bishoprike of London; which was, anno 1540. it happened that the said Thomas Lord Cromwell & Erle of Essex, procured of the king of England his gracious letters to the French king, to permit and licence a subject of his to imprint the Bible in english within the Universitie of Paris, because paper was there more meete and apt to bee had for the doing thereof, than in the realme of England, and also that there were more store of good workmen for the readie dispatch of the same. And in like manner at the same time the said king wrote unto his Ambassadour, who then was Edmund Boner Bishop of Hereford, lying in Paris, that he should ayde and assist the doers theereof in all their reasonable suites. The which Bishop outwardly shewed great friendship to the merchants that were the imprinters of the same, and moreover did divers and sundrie times call and command the sayd persons, to bee in manner daily at his table, both dinner and supper, and so much rejoyced in the workmanship of the sayd Bible, that he himselfe would

would visit the imprinters house where the same Bibles were printed, and also would take part of such dinners as the Englishmen there had, and that to his cost, which, as it seemed he little wayed. And further, the saide Boner was so fervent, that he caused the said Englishmen to put in print a new Testament in english and latine, and himselfe tooke a great many of them, and payd for them, and gave them to his friends. And it chaunced the meane time, while the sayd Bible was in printing, that king Henry the 8. preferred the said Boner from the said Bishopricke of Hereford, to be Bishoppe of London, at which time, the said Boner according to the statute law of England, tooke his othe to the king, knowledging his supremacie, and called one of the aforesaid Englishmen that printed the Bible, whome he then loved, although afterward upon the change of the world he did hate him as much, whose name was Richard Grafton; to whome the sayd Boner said when he took his othe, "maister Grafton, so it is, that the kings most excellent Majestie hath by his gratious gift presented mee to the Bishopricke of London, for the which I am sorry, for if it would have pleased his grace, I could have been well content to have kept mine olde Bishopricke of Hereford." Then said Grafton, "I am right glad to heare of it, and so I am sure will be a great number of the Citie of London: for they yet knowe you not, yet they have heard so much goodnes of you from hence, as no doubt they will hartily rejoice of your placing." Then said Boner, "I pray God I may do that may content them; and to tell you M. Grafton, before God (for that was commonly his othe) the greatest fault that I ever found in Stokesley, was for vexing and troubling of poore men, as Lobley the bookebinder and other, for having the Scripture in English,

English, and God willing he did not so much hinder it, but I will as much further it: and I will have of your bibles set up in the Church of Paules,[9] at the least in sundry places six of them; and I will pay you honestly for them and give you hartie thankes." Which words hee then spake in the hearing of divers credible persons, as Edmund Stile Grocer, and other. "But now M. Grafton at this time I have specially called you to be a witnesse with me that upon this translation of Bishops Sees, I must according to the statute take

[9] *In the Church of Paules.*] "Which also at his coming home, he performed, according to the King's Proclamation set forth for the same.

"The bibles thus standing in Paules by the commandement the King, and the appointment of Bonner the bishop, manie well disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especiallie when they could get any that had an audible voice to read unto them, misdoubting therein no danger toward them; and no more there was; so long as the daies of Cromwell lasted." Fox's *Acts* p. 1101. Another zealous Reformer has given a very unfavourable interpretation of Bonner's designs in the whole of this transaction "He first set up Bybles in Paules, not purposyng any Christen erudicyon to the people, but as snares to catch them by. For immediately after he set up a commaundement that God should give place unto the Pope, and Christ unto Anti-Christ. "There shall be no readying" (sayth he) "for the tyme of God's service." As though their vayne, idle and blasphemous superstitions, were only Gods service, and the byble readying no part thereof, but a very prophane thing. Upon thys polycie did he set them up there, to knowe whych were the busy byble men of London, that he might speak with them at laysure. For he had his spyes evermore, and hys Judases there at hand. Some hath already proved it, and also payde the harde pryce thereof. So that they which at his first commyng held up their handes unto God for their good byshop, doth nowe holde downe their heades, and can saye, that sathan hath shewed himself for all hys angelyk face." *Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe, A disclosyng or openynge of the Manne of Synne &c by Johan Harryson* (i. e. John Bale) fol. 93. A. D. 1543. printed at Zurick.

an

an othe [1] unto the kings majestie knowledging his supreamacy, which before God I take with my heart, and so thinke him to be, and beseech almightie God to save him, and long to prosper his grace: Holde the booke sirah, and read you the othe" (said he) to one of his chapleins, and he laide his hand on the booke and tooke his othe. And after this he shewed great friendship to the said Grafton, and to his partener Edward Whitchurch, but especially to Miles Coverdale, who was the corrector of the great bible.

Now after that the foresaid letters were delivered, the French king gave very good wordes, and was well content to permit the doing thereof. And so the printer went forward and printed forth the booke even to the last part; and then was the quarrel picked to the printer, and he was sent for to the inquisitors [2] of the faith, and there charged with certain Articles of heresie. Then were sent for the Englishmen that were at the coste and charge thereof, and also such as had the correction

[1] *take an othe.*] The othe taken by Bonner is printed in Wilkins's *Concil.* Vol. III. p. 781, and in other places.

"Post electionis confirmationem, *pessimo* (quod tamen passim obtinuit ab anno 1535 ad ann. 1553) *exemplo*, commissionem quam vocant, seu licentiam Episcopatum Londinensem administrandi a Rege suscepit, 1539 Novemb. 12. in qua agnoscitur omnem jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam a Rege tanquam ab unico fonte oriri, et ipsum Regis tantummodo Vicarium esse: atque his præcipue verbis Diplomatis vis compingitur. "Tibi vices nostras committimus, teque licentiandum esse decernimus, ad ordinandum infra Diocesin tuam Londinensem &c, vice, nomine, et auctoritate nostris &c per presentes ad nostri bene placiti voluntatem duntaxat duraturas." Wharton *De Episcopis et Decanis Londinensibus.* p. 194. Comp. also Wilkins's *Concil.* Vol. III. p. 797—9: and p. 810.

[2] *Sent for to the inquisitors.*] The order of the Inquisition was dated Dec. 17, 1538. Lewis's *Histor: Account of English Translations*, p. 121.

of

of the same, which was Miles Coverdale: but having some warning what would follow, the said Englishmen posted away as fast as they could to save themselves, leaving behind them all their bibles, which were the number of two thousand five hundred, called the bibles of the great volume, and never recovered any of them, saving that the Lieutenant criminall having them delivered unto him to burne in a place of Paris (like Smithfield) called Maulbert place, was somewhat moved with covetousnesse, and sold foure great drie fats of them to a Haberdasher to lap caps in, and those were bought againe, but the rest were burned, to the great and importunate losse of those that bare the charge of them. But notwithstanding the said losse, after they had recovered some parte of the foresaid bookes, and were comforted and encouraged by the Lord Cromwell, the said Englishmen went againe to Paris, and there got the presses, letters, and servants of the foresaid printer, and brought them to London, and there they became printers themselves (which before they never intended) and printed out the said bible[3] in London, and after that printed sundry impressions of them: but yet not without great trouble and losse, for the hatred of the Bishops, namely Steven Gardiner,

[3] *Printed out the said bible.*] This was the Bible commonly called Cranmer's, or the Great Bible. The title was as follows. "The Byble in Englyshe, that is to say the content of all the holy Scripture bothe of the olde and newe Testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes by the dylygent studye of dyverse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges.

Prynted by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1539." A correct description of this Translation, with many particulars respecting its History, may be found in Lewis's *History of the Translations of the Bible*, edit. 1739. p. 119—129.

and

and his fellowes, who mightily did stomacke and maligne the printing thereof.

Here by the way, for the more direction of the story, thou hast loving reader, to note and understand that in those daies there were two sundry Bibles in English, printed and set forth, bearing divers titles, and printed in divers places. The first was called Thomas Mathews bible, printed at Hambrough, about the yeare [4] of our Lord 1532. the corrector of which print was then John Rogers, of whom ye shall heare more, Christ willing, hereafter. The printers were Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch. In the translation of this Bible, the greatest doer was indeed William Tindall, who with the helpe of Miles Coverdale had translated all the bookes thereof, except only the Apocripha, and certaine notes in the margent which were added after. But because the said William Tindall in the mean time was apprehended before this bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them which had the doing thereof, to change the name of William Tindall, because that name then was odious, and to further it by a strange name of Thomas Mathew, John Rogers the same time being corrector to the print, who had then translated the

[4] *About the yeare.*] The year was 1537.

This was the *second* time in which the whole Bible was printed in English; the first copy (commonly called Coverdale's) being printed in 1535, of which some mention was made above in the Life of Tindal. The title-page of this second edition was as follows. "The Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture, in which are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament, truely and purely translated into Englysh. By Thomas Matthewe.

Esaye 1. Hearken to ye Heavens, and thou earth geave eare: for the Lorde speaketh. 1537.

Set forth with the King's most gracyous Lycence."

See Lewis's *History*, p. 105—112.

residue

residue of the Apocripha, and added also certaine notes thereto in the margent, and thereof came it to be called Thomas Mathewes Bible. Which Bible of Thomas Mathew, after it was imprinted and presented to the Lord Cromwell, and the Lord Cranmer Archbishop of Canturbury, who liked very well of it, the said Cromwell presented it to the King, and obtained that the same might freely passe to be read of his subjects with his Graces licence: So that there was printed upon the same booke, one line in read letters with these wordes; *Set foorth with the Kings most gratious licence.*

The setting forth of this booke did not a little offend the clergie, namely the bishops aforesaid, both for the prologues, and specially because in the same booke was one speciall table collected of the common places in the bible, and the Scriptures for the approbation of the same, and chiefely about the supper of the Lord and mariage of priests, and the masse which there was said not to be found in the Scripture.

Furthermore, after the restraint of this foresaid bible of Mathew, another Bible began to be printed at Paris, an. 1540[5]. Which was called the Bible of the large volume. The printers whereof were the foresaid Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch which bare the charges. A great helper thereto was the Lord Cromwell. The chiefest overseer was Miles Coverdale, who taking the translation of Tindal, conferred the same with the Hebrue, and amended many things.

[5] *At Paris, an.* 1540.] Rather, in the year 1538. For the mandate of the Inquisition, directing the seizure of this Paris edition was dated, as we mentioned before, Dec. 17, 1538, and the London edition, which was built upon it, came out in 1539.

In

In this Bible although the former notes of Thomas Mathew were omitted, yet sundry marks and hands were annexed in the sides, which ment that in those places should be made certaine notes; wherewith also the clergy was offended, though the notes were not made.

After this the bishops bringing their purpose to passe, brought the Lord Cromwell out of favour, and shortly to his death: and not long after, great complaint was made to the king, of the translation of the Bible, and of the preface of the same, and then was the sale of the Bible commanded to be staied [6], the Bishops promising to amend and cor-

[6] *Commanded to be staied.*] By Act of Parliament, A. D. 1542, it was commanded, "that all manner of bokes of the olde and newe Testament in English of Tindal's translation, should be utterly abolished, extinguished, and forbidden." It was also enacted, that "after the first day of October next ensuing, no person should take upon him to read openly to others in any Church or public assembly, the Bible or any part of Scripture in English, unless by special appointment of the King, or by any Ordinary. Provided, that the Chauncellor of England, Capitaines of the warres, the King's Justices, the Recorders of any City, Borough, or Town, the Speaker of the Parliament &c. which heretofore have been accustomed to declare or teache any good, virtuous, or godly exhortations in anie assemblies, may use anie part of the Bible or holie Scripture, as they have been wont: and that every Nobleman and Gentleman being a Householder, may read or cause to be read by any of his familie servants in his House, Orchardes, or Garden, and to his owne familie any Text of the Bible or New Testament: and also every merchant-man being a Householder, and other persons, other than women, prentices &c. might read to themselves privately the Bible, &c. But no woman, except noblewomen and gentlewomen, who might read to themselves alone, and not to others any textes of the Bible &c, nor artificers, prentices, journeymen, serving men, of the degrees of yeomen or under, husbandmen nor labourers, were to read the bible or new Testament in Englishe, to himself or to any other, privately or openly, upon paine of one month's imprisonment." See Lewis's *History*, p. 149.

rect

rect it, but never performing the same[7]: Then Grafton was called, and first charged with the printing of Mathews Bible, but hee being fearefull of trouble, made excuses for himselfe, in all things. Then was hee examined of the great Bible, and what notes he was purposed to make. To which he answered, that hee knew none. For his purpose was to have retained learned men to have made the notes; but when hee perceived the kings majesty, and his cleargy not willing to have any, hee proceeded no further. But for all these excuses, Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there remained six weekes, and before he came out, was bound in three hundred pounds that he should neither sell, nor imprint, or cause to be imprinted any mo bibles, untill the king and the clergie should agree upon a translation. And thus was the Bible from that time staid, during the raigne of king Henry the eight.

But yet one thing more is to be noted, that after the imprinters had lost their Bibles, they continued suiters to Boner, as is aforesaid, to bee a meane for to obtaine of the French King their books againe: but so long they continued suiters, and Boner ever fed them with faire wordes, promising them much, but did nothing for them, till at the last Boner was discharged of his ambassade, and returned home, where hee was right joyfully welcomed home by the Lord Cromwell, who loved him dearely, and had a marvellous good opinion of him. And so long as Cromwell remained in authoritie, so long was Boner at his becke and friend to his friendes, and enemy to his enemies: as namely, at that time to Gardener bishop of Winchester, who never

[7] *Never performing the same.*] See Lewis's *History of Translations*, p. 144—148.

favoured Cromwell; and therefore Boner could not favour him, but that he and Winchester were the greatest enemies that might bee. But so soone as Cromwell fell, immediately Boner and Winchester pretended to bee the greatest men that lived, and no good worde could Boner speake of Cromwell, but the lewdest, vilest, and bitterest that hee could speake, calling him the rankest hereticke that ever lived: and then such as the said Boner knew to bee in good favour with Cromwell, hee could never abide their sight. Insomuch as the next day after that Cromwell was apprehended, the above named Grafton, who before had beene very familiar with Boner, met with the said Boner sodenly, and said unto him, that hee was sorie to heare of the newes that then was abroad. "What are they," (said he?) "Of the apprehension of the L. Cromwell," said Grafton. "Are ye sorie for that (said he?) It had beene good that he had beene dispatched long agoe." With that Grafton looked upon him and knew not what to say, but came no more to Boner. Howbeit afterward the said Grafton being charged for the imprinting of a ballet made in the favour of Cromwell, was called before the Councell, where Boner was present, and there Boner charged him with the wordes that hee spake to him of Cromwell, and told out a great long tale. But the Lord Awdeley, who then was Lord Chancellor, right discreetly and honorably, cut off the matter, and entered into other talke.

JOHN ROGERS.

To burne mee, or to destroy mee, cannot ſo greatly profit them. For when I am dead, the Sunne, and the Moone, the Starres and the Element, Water and Fire, yea and alſo Stones, ſhall defende this cauſe agaynst them, rather than the veritie ſhould perishe.

DOCTOR ROBERT BARNES.

JOHN ROGERS.

JOHN ROGERS brought up in the University of Cambridge, where he profitably travailed in good learning, at the length was chosen and called by the marchants adventurers to be their chaplen at Antwerpe in Brabant, whom hee served to their good contentation manie years. It chanced him there to fall in company with that worthy servant and martyr of God William Tindall, and with Miles Coverdale, which both, for the hatred they bare to popish superstition and Idolatry, and love to true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them the scriptures hee came to great knowledge in the gospell of God, in so much that he cast off the heavie yoke of poperie, perceiving it to bee impure and filthy Idolatrie, and joyned himselfe with them two in that painefull and most profitable labor of translating the bible into the English tongue, which is intituled[1]: The translation of Thomas Mathew.

Hee knowing by the scriptures, that unlawfull vowes may lawfully be broken, and that matrimonie is both honest and honourable amongst all men, joyned himselfe in lawfull matrimonie, and so went to Wittemberge in Saxonie, where he with much sobernesse of living did not onelie greatly increase in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch

[1] *Which is intituled.*] See Life of Cromwell, p. 366, note.

tongue,

tongue, that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure.

In which ministrie, he diligently and faithfully served many yeares, untill such time as it pleased God by the faithfull travell of his chosen and deare servant King Edward the sixt, utterly to banish all popery forth of England, and to receive in true Religion, setting Gods gospell at libertie. He then being orderly called, having both a conscience and a ready good will to helpe forward the worke of the Lord in his native countrey, left such honest and certaine conditions as he had in Saxonie, and came into England to preach the Gospell, without certaintie of any condition. In which office, after he had a space diligently and faithfully travelled, Nicholas Ridley then Bishop of London, gave him a Prebend in the Cathedrall church of Paules, and the Deane and the chapter chose him to be the Reader of the Divinitie lesson there, wherein he diligently travelled, untill such time as Queene Marie obtaining the crowne, banished the Gospell and true religion, and brought in the Antichrist of Rome, with his Idolatrie and superstition.

After the Queen was come to the Tower [2] of London, he being orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement sermon at Paules Crosse, confirming such true doctrine as hee and other had there taught in king Edwardes dayes, exhorting

[2] *Come to the Tower.*] "The third of August (1553) was the splendid day on which the Queen came riding to London, and so to the Tower; making her entrance at Aldgate." Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 17. Fox's *Acts*, p. 1280. The Sermon which gave offence seems to have been preached on Sunday the 6th of that month. In that sermon, according to Fox, "he intreated very learnedlie upon the Gospell of the same day." *Acts*, p. 1280.

the

the people constantly to remaine in the same, and to beware of all pestilent Poperie, Idolatrie, and Superstition. The councell being then overmatched with popish and bloudie bishops called him to account for his sermon: To whom he made a stout, wittie, and godly answere, and yet in such sort handled himselfe, that at that time hée was cleerely dismissed.

But after that Proclamation [3] was set forth by the Queene to prohibite true preaching, he was called againe before the councell, (for the bishops thirsted after his bloud.) The councel quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as prisoner to keepe his owne house; and so he did: although by flying hee might easily have escaped their cruell hands; and many thinges there were, which might have mooved him thereunto. Hee did see the recovery of Religion in England for that present, desperate; he knew hee could not want a living in Germanie; and he could not forget his wife and ten children, and to seeke meanes to succour them. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answere in Christs cause, he would not depart, but stoutly stood in defence of the same, and for the triall of that truth, was content to hazard his life.

Thus hee remained in his owne house as prisoner a long time, till at the length through the un-

[3] *After that Proclamation.*] This proclamation may be seen in Fox's *Acts*, p. 1280. It bears date August 18. The confinement of Rogers to his house took place two days *before*, as appears by the minutes of the privy Council. "August 16th. John Rogers, alias Matthewe, a sediciouse preacher, ordered by the Lords of the Counsaill to kepe himself as prisoner in his howse at Powles, without conference of any personne, other than suche as are daylie with him in householde, untill suche time as he hath contrarie commaundment." Haynes's *State Papers of Lord Burghley*, p. 170.

charitable

charitable procurement of Boner bishoppe of London, who could not abide such honest neighbours to dwell by him, hee was removed from his owne house, to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among theeves and murtherers, for a great space: during which time, what businesse he had with the adversaries of Christ, all is not known, neither yet any certaintie of his examinations, further then hee himselfe did leave in writing; which God would not to be lost, but to remaine for a perpetuall testimony in the cause of Gods truth, as here followeth recorded and testified by his owne writing.

The Examination and Answeere of John Rogers made to the Lord Chancellor, and to the rest of the Counsell, the 22. of Januarie, Anno 1555.

"First the Lord Chancellour said unto me thus. "Sir, ye have heard of the state of the Realme in which it standeth now."

Rogers. "No my Lord. I have beene kept in close prison, and except there have beene some generall thing saide at the Table when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing: and there have I heard nothing whereupon any speciall thing might be grounded."

Then said the Lord Chancellor; "Generall things, generall things," mockingly. "Ye have heard of my Lord Cardinals comming[4], and that the

[4] *My Lord Cardinals comming.*] Cardinal Pole landed at Dover, Nov. 21, 1554, and reached Lambeth on the 24th. Fox's *Acts.* p. 1541. Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* V. III. p. 203. For a copious account of his reconciling the Parliament and Realm

the Parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting unto it, but one man which did speake against it. Such an unitie, and such a myracle hath not bin seen." "And all they, of which there are eight score in one house," said one that was by, (whose name I knowe not) "have with one assent and consent received pardon of their offences, for the schisme that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholike church. How say ye, are yee content to unite and knit your selfe to the faith of the catholike church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? Will ye doe that?"

Rog. "The catholicke church I never didde nor will dissent from."

L. Chan. "Nay, but I speak of the state of the catholike church, in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supreame head."

Rog. "I knowe none other head but Christ, of his catholicke church; neither will I acknow-

Realm to the Pope, of the Oration of Cardinal Pole, the Sermon of Bishop Gardiner, and other proceedings connected with that transaction, see Fox's *Acts*. p. 1341—1345. We shall only claim a space to record the name of the individual who had courage to protest against this precipitate and degrading submission. "Nov. 28 (1554), the Parliament, by an instrument, declared their sorrow for their apostacy, and prayed the King and Queen to intercede with the Cardinal to obtain his absolution; and they all kneeled down and received it. Yet one, *Sir Ralph Bagnal*, refused to consent to this submission and said, 'He was sworn to the contrary to King Henry VIII. which was a worthy prince, and laboured twenty-five years before he could abolish him: And to say I will agree to it, I will not.' And many more were of the same mind, but none had the confidence to speake but he." Strype's *Eccles. Memor:* Vol. III. p. 204.

ledge

ledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authoritie than any other bishop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the olde and pure catholicke church four hundred yeares after Christ."

L. Chan. "Why didst thou then acknowledge king Henrie the eight, to be supreame head of the church, if Christ be the onelie head?"

Rog. "I never granted him to have any supremacie in spirituall things, as are the forgivenesse of sinnes, giving of the holie Ghost, authoritie to be a Judge above the word of God."

"Yea, saide hee, and Tonstall bishop of Duresme, and Heath bishop of Worcester, if thou hadst said so in his daies (and they nodded the head at me, with a laughter) thou hadst not beene alive now."

Which thing I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant[5] to be supreame head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a businesse, that I was constrained to let it passe. There lieth also no great waight thereupon: for all the world knoweth what the meaning

[5] *Said and meant.*] "Where we attribute to the King's Majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers." Art. 37, *of the Church of England.* The Injunctions of Q. Elizabth, A. D. 1559 may be found in Bishop Sparrow's *Collection of Articles*, &c, in Wilkins's *Concilia*, Vol. IV. &c. On the subject of the Regal Supremacy, see Bilson's *True Difference*. Part 3. p. 293. &c.

was.

was. The Lord Chancellor also said to the Lord William Howard, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Christ to bee supream head and the Bishop of Rome also: and when I was readie to have answered that there could not be two heads of one church, and have more plainely declared the vanitie of that his reason, the L. Chancellor said; "what sayest thou? make us a direct answer, whether thou wilt be one of this catholike church, or not, with us in that state in which we are now?"

Rog. "My Lord, without faile, I cannot beleeve, that ye your selves doe thinke in your harts that he is supreame head in forgiving of sinne, &c. (as is before said) seeing you, and all the Bishops of the realme have now twenty yeares long preached, and some of you also written to the contrarie, and the Parliament hath so long agone condescended unto it." And there hee interrupted me thus.

L. Chan. "Tush, that Parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacie from the Bishop of Rome."

Rog. "With crueltie? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with crueltie to perswade mens consciences. For it should appeare by your dooings now, that the crueltie then used hath not perswaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences perswaded with crueltie?"

L. Chan. "I talke to thee of no crueltie, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament, to let the acte goe forward, yea and even with force driven thereunto; whereas in this parliament it was so uniformly received, as is aforesaid."

Here-

Here my lord Paget told me more plainely, what my lord Chancellor meant. Unto whom I answered; "My lord what will yee conclude thereby; that the first parliament was of lesse authoritie, because but few condescended unto it? and this last parliament of great authoritie, because more condescended unto it? It goeth not, my Lord, by the more or lesser part, but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part:" and I would have said more, but the lord chancellor interrupted mee with his question, willing me once againe to answere him. "For," said hee, "wee have moe to speake with than thou, which must come in after thee." And so there were indeed ten persons moe out of Newgate, besides two that were not called. Of which ten, one was a citizen of London, which granted unto them, and nine of the contrary: which all came to prison againe, and refused the cardinals blessing, and the authoritie of his holy fathers church, saving that one of these nine was not asked the question otherwise than thus, whether he would be an honest man as his Father was before him: and answering yea, he was so discharged by the friendship of my Lord William Howard (as I have understanded). He bade me tell him what I would doe: whether I would enter into one Church with the whole realme as it is now, or not? "No," said I, "I will first see it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have penne, inke, and bookes, &c. and I shall take upon me plainely to set out the matter, so that the contrarie shall be prooved to be true; and let any man that will, confer with me by writing."

L. Cha. "Nay, that shal not be permitted thee. Thou shalt never have so much proferred thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and wilt not

not now condescend & agree to the catholicke church. Heere are two things, Mercie and Justice. If thou refuse the queenes mercy now, then shalt thou have justice ministred unto thee."

Rog. "I never offended, nor was disobedient unto hir grace, & yet I will not refuse hir mercie. But if this shall bee denied me to confer by writing, and to trie out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. Ye your selves (all the bishops of the Realme) brought me to the knowledge of the pretensed primacie of the Bishop of Rome, when I was a young manne twentie yeares past: and will ye now without collation have me to say, and doe the contrarie? I cannot be so persuaded."

L. Chan. "If thou wilt not receive the Bishoppe of Rome to be the supreame head of the Catholicke church, then thou shalt never have her mercie thou mayest be sure. And as touching conferring and triall, I am forbidden by the scriptures to use any conferring and triall with thee. For saint Paule teacheth me that I *shall shunne and eschew an heretike after one or two monitions*, knowing that such an one is overthrowne and is faultie, insomuch as he is condemned by his owne judgement."

Rog. "My Lord, I denie that I am an heretike: proove yee that first, and then alledge the foresaid text." But still the lord Chaucellor plaid on one string, saying,

L. Chan. "If thou wilt enter into one church with us, &c. tell us that, or else thou shalt never have so much proferred thee againe, as thou hast now."

Rog. "I will find it first in the scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be supreame head."

Wor.

Wor. "Why? Doe ye not know what is in your Creed; *credo ecclesiam sanctam catholicam.* I believe the holy Catholicke Curch."

Rog. "I find not the bishop of Rome there. For (Catholicke) signifieth not the Romish church: It signifieth the consent of all true teaching churches of all times, and all ages. But how should the bishoppe of Romes church be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are plainely and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the Catholicke church that doth so? that is not possible."

L. Chan. "Shew me one of them, one, let me heare one."

Rog. I remembered my self, that amongst so many, I were best to shew one, and said "I will shew you one."

L. Chan. "Let me heare that, let me heare that."

Rog. "The bishop of Rome and his church, say, read, and sing, all that they doe in their congregations, in Latine, which is directly and plainely against the first to the Corinthians, the 14. chapter."

L. Chan. "I denie that, I denie, that that is against the word of God. Let me see you proove that, how proove you that."

Rog. Thus I began to say the text from the beginning of the chapter, *Qui loquitur lingua &c.* to speake with tongue said I, is to speak with a strange tongue; as Latine or Greeke, &c. and so to speake, is not to speake unto men, but to God. But ye speake in Latin, which is a strange tongue, wherefore yee speake not unto men, but unto God (meaning God only at the most.) This he granted, that they spake not unto men but unto God.

Rog. "Well, then it is in vaine unto men."

L. Chan. "No, not in vaine. For one man speaketh

speaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well."

Rog. "Naie, I will proove then, that he speaketh neither to God nor to man, but unto the winde."

I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two texts doe agree (for they must agree, they bee both the sayings of the holy Ghost, spoken by the apostle Paule) as to wit, to speake not to men, but unto God, and to speake unto the winde: and so to have gone forward with the proofe of my matter begun, but there rose a noise and a confusion. Then saide the lord Chancellor.

"To speak unto God, and not unto God, were unpossible."

Rog. "I will proove them possible."

"No, said my lord William Howard to my L. Chancellor; now will I beare you witnes, that he is out of the way. For he granted first, that they which spake in a strange speech, spake unto God: and now he saith the contrarie, that they speak neither to God, nor to man."

Rog. "I have not granted or said" (turning mee to my lord Howard) "as ye report. I have alledged the one text, and now I am come to the other. They must agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you understand not the matter."

L. Howard. "I understand so much that that is not possible." "This is a point of sophistrie," quoth secretarie Bourne.

Then the Lord Chancellor began to tell the Lord Howard, that when he was in high Dutchland they at Hale, which had before praied and used their service all in Dutch, began then to turne part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worcest. "Yea and at Wittenburge too."

Rog.

Rog. "Yea," (but I could not be heard for the noise) "in an universitie, where men for the most part understand the Latine; and yet not all in Latine." And I would have tolde the order and have gone forward both to have answered my lord, and to have prooved the thing that I had taken in hand: but perceiving their talking and noise to be too noisome, I was faine to thinke this in my hart (suffering them in the meane while to talke one of them one thing and another another), Alas, neither will these men heare me if I speake, neither yet will they suffer mee to write. There is no remedie but let them alone, and committe the matter to God. Yet I began to goe forward, and said that I would make the texts to agree, and to proove my purpose wel enough.

L. Chan. "No, no, thou canst proove nothing by the scripture. The scripture is dead: it must have a lively expositor."

Rog. "No, the scripture is alive. But let me go forwarde with my purpose."

Wor. "All heretikes have alledged the scriptures for them, and therefore we must have a lively expositor for them."

Rog. "Yea, all heretikes have alledged the scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the scriptures, and by none other expositor."

Wor. "But they would not confesse that they were overcome by the scriptures, I am sure of that."

Rog. "I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them, & in all Councels they were disputed with and overthrowne by the scriptures." And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these dayes, and so have come againe to my purpose, but it was unpossible: for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was faine

faine to hold my peace, and let them talke. And even when I would have taken holde on my proofe, the Lord Chauncellor bade, to prison with me againe: and away, away, said he, "we have more to talke withall: if I would not be reformed" (so he tearmed it) away, away." Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then sir Richard Southwell, who stood by in a window, said to me: "thou wilt not burne in this geare, when it commeth to the purpose, I know well that."

Rog. "Sir I cannot tell, but I trust to my Lord God yes;" lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

Then my Lord of Ely told me much of the Queens Majesties pleasure and meaning, and set it out with large wordes, saying that shee tooke them that would not receive the bishop of Romes supremacie, to be unworthy to have her mercie.

I sayde, I would not refuse her mercie, and yet I never offended her in all my life: And that I besought her Grace and all their Honours to bee good to mee, reserving my conscience.

Diverse speak at once. "No!" quoth they then, a great sort of them, and especially Secretarie Bourne, "a maried priest, and have not offended the law."

I said, I had not broken the Queens law, nor yet any point of the law of the realme therein. For I married where it was lawfull.

Divers at once. "Where was that," sayde they? thinking that to be unlawfull in all places.

Rog. "In Dutchland. And if yee hadde not heere in England made an open lawe that Priests might have hadde wives, I would never have come home againe. For I brought a wife and eight children with me: which thing ye might be sure that I would not have done, if the lawes of the realm had not permitted it before."

Then there was a great noise, some saying that I was come too soone with such a soit; I should find a sower comming of it: and some one thing, and some another. And one saide (I could not well perceive who) that there was never a catholicke man or countrey, that ever granted that a priest might have a wife.

Rog. "I saide the Catholicke church never denied mariage to Priests, nor yet to any other man;" and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the sergeant which brought me thither, having me by the arme.

Then the Bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said that I wist not where that church was or is.

I sayd yes, that I could tell where it was; but therewith went the sergeant with me out of the doore.

This was the very true effect of all that was spoken unto me, and of all that I answered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect answere to all the former objections, as also a due proofe of that which I had taken in hand: but at this present I was informed that I shuld to morrow come to further answere. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring here the heartie and unfained helpe of the prayers of all Christes true members, the true impes of the true unfained Catholicke church, that the Lord God of all consolation, will now be my comfort, ayde, strength, buckler and shield: as also of all my brethren that are in the same case and distresse, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and crueltie, and even the bitter burning fire and the dreadfull dart of death, and sticke like true soldiers to our deare & loving captaine

taine Christ, our only redeemer and saviour, and also the only true head of the church, that dooth all in us all, which is the verie propertie of an head (and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot doe); & that we doe not traitorously run out of his tents, or rather out of the plaine field from him, in the most jeopardie of the battell, but that we may persevere in the fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us) till we be most cruelly slaine of his enemies. For this I most heartily, and at this present, with weeping teares most instantly and earnestly desire and beseech you all to pray. And also if I die, to be good to my poore and most honest wife, being a poore straunger; and all my little soules, hers and my children. Whome, with all the whole faithfull and true catholicke congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death save, keepe, and defend, in all the troubles and assaults of this vaine world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation, the true and sure inheritance of all crossed Christians, Amen, Amen.

The 27. day of January at night."

The second confession of John Rogers, made and that should have beene made (if I might have beene heard) the 28. *and* 29. *day of January* 1555.

"First being asked againe by the Lord Chancellor, whether I would come into one Church with the Bishops and whole Realme, as now was concluded by Parliament, (in the which all the Realme was converted to the catholick church of Rome) and so receive the mercy before profered me, arising again with the whole realme, out of the schisme and errour in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors: I answered, that before I could not tell what his mercy meant, but now I under-

stoode that it was a mercy of the Antichristian church of Rome, which I utterly refused, and that the rising which hee spake of, was a very fall into errour and false doctrine. Also that I had and would be able by Gods grace, to proove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught, was true and catholicke, and that by the scriptures, and the authority of the fathers that lived four hundred yeares after Christs death. He answered, that should not, might not, nor ought not to be granted me: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the determination of the whole realme. Should, quoth hee, when a Parliament hath concluded a thing, one, or any private person have authority to discusse, whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be.

I aunswered shortly, that all the lawes of men might not, neither could rule the word of God; but that they all must be discussed and judged thereby, and obey thereto; and my conscience, nor no christian mans could be satisfied with such lawes as disagreed from that worde: and so was willing to have said much more, but the Lord Chancellor began a long tale to very small purpose, concerning mine answere, to have defaced mee, that there was nothing in me wherefore I should be heard, but arrogancie, pride and vaineglorie. I also granted mine ignorance to be greater than I could expresse, or then hee tooke it: but yet that I feared not by Gods assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my word; neither was I, (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God to whom be thanks rendred therefore. Proud man was I never, nor yet vaine-glorious. All the world knew well, where and on which side pride, arrogancie, and vain-glorie

glorie was. It was a poore pride that was or is in us, God it knoweth.

Then said he, that I at the first dash condemned the Queene and the whole Realme, to be of the church of Antichrist; and burdened mee highly therewithall. I answered that the Queenes majestie (God save her Grace) would have done well enough, if it had not beene for his counsell. He said, the queene went before him, and it was her owne motion. I said, without faile I neither could, nor I would ever beleeve it.

Then said Doctor Aldrise the Bishop of Carlile, that they the bishops would beare him wisnesse. Yea, quoth I, that I beleeve well, and with that the people laughed: For that day there were many; but on the morrow they bade keep the doores shut, and would let none in, but the bishops adherentes and servants in maner; yea & the first day the thousand men came not in. Then maister Controller and Secretary Bourne, would have stood up also to beare witnesse, and did.

I said it was no great matter: and to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereto themselves: but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should bee beleeved before mee, yea and before our Saviour Christ, and all his Prophets and Apostles to, in these daies.

Then after many wordes hee asked mee what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament, and stood up and put off his cap[6], and all his fellow bishops (of which there were a great sort new men,

[6] *Put off his cap.*] This action of Gardiner and his fellow Bishops, was in token of their reverence and devotion to the supposed bodily presence of Christ in the consecrated elements of the Eucharist. We learn a little below, in the course of these

men, of whom I knew few) whether I beleeved in the sacrament to be the very body and bloud of our Saviour

these examinations of Rogers, that this was a ceremonial rarely omittted by Gardiner; who doubtless, from his controversy with Abp. Cranmer, regarded himself as an eminent champion of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The reader may not be displeased to see a further exemplification of this species of devotion, in the persons of two very distinguished characters of those times, the Pope of Rome, Paul III, and the Pope-like King of England, Henry VIII. The first extract is taken from a description of a procession of the Pope, Cardinals, and other ecclesiastics to St. Peter's on Christmas Day in the year 1547, of which the narrator was an eye-witness.

"Than came the double crosse, the sworde and the imperiall hatte, and after that the Cardinalls by two and two, and betweene every two a great route of gentilmen. Than came the Ambassadors, and next them *the Bishop hymselfe*, blessyng all the waie, and carried in his chayre by eight men clothed in long robes of skarlet. And on either side of him wente his guarde makyng rome, and crying *abasso, abasso*; for they that will not willingly kneele, shall be made kneele by force. And I thynke verily the foremost of this ordre was distant from the hindermost more than a quarter of a myle.

"Thus when he came into the middest of the church, against the Sacrament of the aulter, *he turned himselfe towards it*, and *bowyng his head a little, seemed to make a certaine familiare reverence.*

"Than was he caried into the chapell, brought behind the aulter, for the aulter standeth in the middest open every waie, and there in a throne of wonderfull majestie was set up as a God." *History of Italy* by William Thomas, fol. 38. A. D. 1549.

In the examination of John Lambert in the year 1538, in which disputation Henry himself bore an active part, Lambert being abashed at the monarch's angry words, makes a short pause, upon which we are told "the King being hastie, with anger and vehemencie said, why standest thou still? Answere, As touching the Sacrament of the aulter, whether dost thou say, that it is the bodie of Christ, or wilt thou denie it? *And with that the King lifted up his cap.*

"Lambert. I answere with St. Augustine, that it is the bodie of Christ, *after a certaine manner.*" Fox's *Acts*, p. 1025. The next

Saviour Christ that was borne of the virgin Mary, and hanged on the crosse, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often tolde him that it was a matter in which I was no medler, and therefore suspected of my brethren to bee of a contrary opinion. Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your doctrine in other pointes is false, and the defence thereof onely by force and cruelty: so in this matter I thinke it to be as false as the rest. For I

next extract applies to the examination of Dr. Robert Barnes in the following year (1539), soon after which he was burnt for heresy: the account is from the pen of Bishop Gardiner. "And *one notable* thing was done, in the hearing of that matter by the Kynges Majestie, when Barnes offered to yield to his Highness in his opinion. The Kynges Grace sytting secretly in his closet, and having with him the late erle of Southampton (whose soul God pardon!), the mayster of the Horse that nowe is, Me, Barnes, Mayster Doctour Cockes, and Doctour Robinson: The Kinges Highness, at that offre of Barnes, sayd, "I am (quoth his Majestie) a mortall man;" and therewith rysynge and turning to the Sacrament, and *putting off his bonet* sayde; "*Yonder is the Maister of us all*, authour of Truth, yield in truth to hym, and I shall" (sayeth the Kinges Majestie) "defende that truthe. And otherwyse Barnes," (quoth the kings majestie) "yield not to me." .. But to the purpose I tell this storye for." Declaration of Articles against George Joye. fol. 7. 4to.

This homage, as might be expected, did not pass without animadversions from the Protestants.

"The Lady Jane (Gray), she whom the Lord Guilford married, being on a time when she was very young at New-hall in Essex at the Lady Maries" (afterwards Queen Mary), "was by one Lady Anne Wharton desired to walke; and they passing by the chappell, the Lady Wharton made low curtsie to the popish Sacrament hanging on the alter. Which when the Lady Jane saw, she marvelled, why she did so; and asked her whether the Lady Mary were there or not. Unto whom the Lady Wharton answered no, but she said "that she made her curtsey to him that made us all." "Why," quoth the Lady Jane, "how can he be there that made us all, and the baker made him?" This answere coming to the Lady Maries eare, she did never love her after." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1927.

cannot

cannot understand (really and substantially) to signifie otherwise than corporally: but corporally Christ is onely in heaven, and so cannot Christ bee corporally also in your sacrament. And here I somewhat set out his charitie after this sort: My Lord, quoth I, ye have dealt with mee most cruelly. For ye have set me in prison without law, and kept mee there now almost a yeare and a halfe. For I was almost halfe a yeare in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I beene a full yeare in Newgate at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to finde; and I had never a penie of my livings: which was against the lawe.

He aunswered, that Doctor Ridley which had given them mee, was an usurper, and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them.

Was the king then an usurper, quoth I, which gave doctor Ridley the bishopricke?

Yea, quoth he, and began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himselfe also. But yet I do misuse my tearmes, quoth hee, to call the king usurper. But the word was gone out of the aboundance of the heart before: And I thinke that he was not verie sorie for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him wherefore he set me in prison. He said, because I preached against the Queene.

I answered that it was not true: and I would be bound to proove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to proove it, and thereupon would set my life. I preached (quoth I) a sermon at the Crosse, after the Queene came to the Tower: but therein was nothing said against the Queene, I take witnesse of all the audience: which was not small. I alleadged also that

he

he had after examination let me goe at liberty, after the preaching of that sermon.

Yea, but thou didst reade thy lectures after, quoth he, against the commandemente of the councell.

That did I not, quoth I: let that be prooved, and let me die for it. Thus have ye now against the lawe of God and man handled me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning, till now that yee have gotten a whip to whip me with[7], and a sword to cut off my necke, if I will not condescend to your minde. This charitie doth all the world understand.

I might and would have added, if I could have been suffered to speake, that it had beene time enough to take away mens livings, and thereto to have prisoned them, after that they had offended lawes. For they bee good Citizens that breake not lawes, and worthy of praise and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keepe men in prison so long, untill they may catch them in their lawes, and so kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniell, which by a crafty devised lawe was cast into the Lions den. Item, I might have declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at libertie, sending my wife to him with a supplication, being great with child, and with her eight honest women, or thereabout, to Richmond, at Christ-

[7] *A whip to whip me with*] Rogers here alludes to the revival of certain ancient statutes of Richard II. and Henry IVth and Vth against Heresy, and to some further provisions for the like purpose, which had been enacted in the course of that and some preceding months by the Parliament; which having gone through its work of cruelty and degradation, had been then very recently dissolved. See Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.* Vol. II. p. 275. Fox's *Acts*, p. 1446. 1461. 1560. We shall find, in the progress of our History, several other references to the same Acts of Parliament. P. 1552.

mas

mas was a twelve month, whiles I was yet in my house.

Item, I wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife many times to him. M. Gosnolde also that worthy man, who is nowe departed in the Lord, laboured for me; and so did divers other worthy men also take paines in the matter. These things declare my L. Chancellors Antichristian charitie, which is, that he hath and doth seeke my bloud, and the destruction of my poore wife and my ten children.

This is a short summe of the wordes which were spoken in the 28 day of January at afternoone, after that M. Hooper had been the first, and M. Cardmaker the second in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we bee smitten downe together, if the Lords will be so to permit it. For there shall not a haire of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the same Lord grant us to bee obedient unto the end, and in the end. Amen: Sweete, mighty, and mercifull Lord Jesus the son of David and of God: Amen, Amen, let every true christian say and pray.

Then the clocke being, as I gessed, about foure, the L. Chancellor said, that he and the church must yet use charitie with mee, (what maner of charitie it is, all true christians doe well understand, as to wit, the same that the foxe doth with the chickens, and the wolfe with the lambes) and gave me respite till to morrow, to see whether I would remember my self well to morrow, and whether I would returne to the catholicke church (for so he calleth his Antichristian false church) againe,

againe, and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

I said that I was never out of the true catholicke Church, nor would be: but into his church, would I, by Gods grace, never come.

Well, quoth he, then is our church false and antichristian?

Yea, quoth I.

And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?

False, quoth I, and cast my hands abroad.

Then said one, that I was a plaier. To whom I answered not: for I passed not upon his mocke.

Come againe, quoth the Lord Chancellor, to morrowe betweene nine and ten.

I am ready to come againe, when soever ye call, quoth I.

And thus was I brought up by the sheriffes to the counter in Southwarke, Maister Hooper going before mee, and a great multitude of people beeing present, so that we had much to doe to goe in the streets.

Thus much was done the 28. day of January."

"The second day, which was the 29. of January, we were sent for in the morning about nine of the clocke, and by the sheriffes fetched from the counter in Southwarke, to the church againe, as to wit, to S. Mary Overies, where we were the day before in the afternoone, as is said. And when maister Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, then sent they for me. When my Lord Chancellor said unto me:

"Rogers," quoth hee, "here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee libertie to remember thy selfe this night, whether thou wouldest come to the holy catholicke Church of Christ againe or not. Tell

Tell us nowe what thou hast determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and sory, and wilt return again and take mercy."

"My Lord," quoth I, "I have remembered my selfe right well, what you yesterday laid for you, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind what I have to say thereunto, and that don I shall answere you to your demanded question.

"When I yesterday desired that I might bee suffered by the Scripture and authoritie of the first, best, and purest Church to defend my doctrine by writing (meaning not onely of the primacie, but also of all the doctrine that ever I had preached) ye answered mee that it might not, nor ought not to bee granted me, for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authoritie of all private persons, and therefore the sentence thereof might not bee found faulty and valurelesse by me being but a private person. And yet my Lord, quoth I, I am able to shew examples, that one man hath come into a generall councell, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, that some one man comming in afterward, hath by the worde of God declared so pithilie that the councell had erred in decreeing the said article, that hee caused the whole councell to change and alter their act or article before determined. And of these examples, said I, I am able to shew two. I can also shew the authoritie of S. Augustine, that when he disputed with an hereticke, he would neither himself, nor yet have the hereticke, to leane unto the determination of two former councels, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the hereticke that disputed against him: but said that hee would have the Scriptures

Scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

" Item, I could shew, said I, the authoritie of a learned Lawyer Panormitanus, which saith; *that unto a simple lay man, that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credite to be given, than to a whole councell gathered togither.* By these things will I proove that I ought not to bee denied to say my minde, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the worde of God for mee, and the authoritie of the olde church four hundred yeares after Christ, albeit that every man in the Parliament had willingly and without respect of feare and favour agreed thereunto (which thing I doubt not a little of,) specially seeing the like had beene permitted in that olde church, even in generall councels, yea and that in one of the chiefest councels that ever was, unto which neither any actes of this Parliament, nor yet any of the late generall councels of the Bishops of Rome ought to be compared. For, said I, if Henrie the eight were alive, and should call a Parliament, and begin to determine a thing (and heere I would have alleadged the example of the act of making the Queene a bastard, and of making himselfe the Superiour head: but I could not, being interrupted of one[s] whom God forgive) then will yee (pointing to my Lord Chancellor) and ye and ye, and so ye all (pointing to the rest of the bishops) say, Amen: yea, and it like your grace, it is meete that it be so enacted, &c."

Heere my L. Chancellor would suffer me to speake no more: but bade mee sit downe mockingly, saying that I was sent for to be instructed

[s] *Interrupted of one.*] This was Sir Anthony Brown. Fox.

of

of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructer.

"My Lord," quoth I, "I stand and sit not: shall I not be suffered to speake for my life?"

"Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate," quoth he? and with that he stoode up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud fashion; for hee perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder, by dashing me out of my tale; and so hee did. For I could never be suffered to come to my tale againe, no not to one worde of it: but hee had much like communication with mee as he had the day before, and as his maner is, taunt upon taunt, and checke upon checke. For in that case, being Gods cause, I tolde him he should not make me afraid to speake."

L. Chaun. "See what a spirit this fellow hath," said hee, "finding fault at mine accustomed earnestnesse, and heartie manner of speaking."

Rog. "I have a true spirite," quoth I, "agreeing and obeying the word of God;" and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true cause and in my maister Christs matters: but I might not be heard. And at the length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had tolde him that his Church of Rome was the Church of Antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannicall Lawes, with the maintenance thereof by cruell persecution, used by the bishops of the said Church (of which the Bishop of Winchester and the rest of his fellow Bishops that are now in England, are the chiefe members). Of lawes I meane, quoth I; and not all men and women which are in the popes church. Likewise when I was said to have denied their Sacrament (wherof he made his wonted

wonted reverent mention, more to maintaine his kingdome thereby, than for the true reverence of Christes institution: more for his owne and his Popish generations sake, than for religion or Gods sake) I told him after what order I did speake of it (for the maner of his speaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication that wee had in the 28. of Januarie) wherewith hee was not contented, but hee asked the audience whether I had not simply denied the Sacrament. They would have said, and did what hee lusted, for the most of them were of his owne servants at that day; the 29. of January I meane. At the last I said, I will never deny that I said, that is, that your doctrine of the sacrament is false: but yet I tell you after what order I said it.

"To be short, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two Articles, first that I affirmed the Romish catholicke Church, to bee the Church of Antichrist; and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He cursed me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laitie, and so he gave me over into the shrives hands, which were much better than his."

The copie of which his condemnation here I thought to put down in English, to the intent that the same being here once expressed, may serve for all other sentences condemnatory through the whole story to be referred unto.

The sentence condemnatorie against Maister Rogers.

"In the name of God, Amen. We Steven by the permission of God Bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour, by

by authoritie and vertue of our office, against thee John Rogers priest, alias called Mathewe, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresie; having heard, seene, and understand, and with all diligent deliberation waied, discussed, and considered the merites of the cause, all things beeing observed, which by us in this behalfe, in order of law ought to bee observed, sitting in our judgement seate, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having God onely before our eies: because by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, wee doe finde that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended divers errours, heresies, and damnable opinions contrarie to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely these; *That the catholicke Church of Rome, is the church of Antichrist:* Item, *that in the sacrament of the aultar, there is not substantially nor really the natural body & bloud of Christ.* The which aforesaid heresies, and damnable opinions being contrarie to the law of God, and determination of the universall and Apostolicall church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornely, and wittingly maintained, helde, and affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgement, as also otherwise; and with the like obstinacie, stubbornesse, malice and blindnesse of heart, both wittingly and willingly hast affirmed, that thou wilt beleeve, maintaine and holde, affirme and declare the same: Wee therefore Stephen Winton Bishop, Ordinary and Diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as wel of our reverend brethren the Lord Bishops here present and assistant, as also by the counsell and judgement of divers worshipfull lawyers and professours of Divinitie, with whom wee have communicated

municated in this behalfe, doe declare and pronounce thee the said John Rogers, otherwise called Mathewe, through thy demerites, transgressions, obstinacies, and wilfulnesses (which thou manifold waies hast incurred by thine owne wicked and stubburne obstinacie) to have beene and to bee guilty in the detestable, horrible, and wicked offence of hereticall pravitie and execrable doctrine; and that thou hast before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended the said cursed and execrable doctrine in thy sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated; and yet still doest maintaine, affirme and beleeve the same; and that thou hast beene and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalfe. Wee therefore, I say, albeit following the example of Christ, *Which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert & live,* we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawfull meanes that wee could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee againe unto the true faith and unitie of the universall catholick church, notwithstanding have found thee obstinate and stifnecked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to returne againe unto the true faith and unitie of the holy mother Church, and as the childe of wickednesse and darkenesse so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepheard, which with a fatherly affection doth seeke after thee, nor wilt not be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions: we therefore Stephen the Bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou which art wicked, shouldest nowe become more wicked, and infect the Lords flocke with thine heresie (which wee are greatly afraide of) with sor-

rowe of minde and bitternesse of heart doe judge thee, and definitively condemne thee the said John Rogers, otherwise called Mathewe, thy demerites and defaults being aggravate through thy damnable obstinacie, as guiltie of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to returne to the lappe and unitie of the holy mother church; and that thou hast beene and art by lawe excommunicate, and doe pronounce and declare thee to bee an excommunicate person. Also wee pronounce and declare thee being an hereticke, to bee cast out from the church, and left unto the judgement of the secular power; and now presently so doe leave thee as an obstinate hereticke, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to bee degraded worthily for thy demerites (requiring them notwithstanding in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done upon thee, may so bee moderated, that the rigor thereof bee not too extreame, nor yet the gentlenesse too much mitigated, but that it may bee to the salvation of thy soule, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of the heretickes, to the unitie of the catholicke faith) by this our sentence definitive which we here lay upon, and against thee, and doe with sorrowe of heart promulgate in this forme aforesaid."

"After this sentence being read, hee sent us (M. Hooper, I meane, and me) to the Clinke, there to remaine till night: and when it was darke, they caried us, M. Hooper going before with the one shiriffe, and I comming after with the other, with billes and weapons enow, out of the Clinke, and led us thorough the bishops house, and so thorow Saint Mary Overies churchyard, and so into

into Southwarke, and over the bridge on procession to Newgate through the citie. But I must shew you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse, and what a vengeable dangerous matter it were to eate and drinke with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing; for all that so did, should be partakers of the same great curse.

"Well my Lord," quoth I, "heere I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witnes, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine: and therefore have I a good conscience before God and al good men. I am sure that you and I shal come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you: and I nothing doubt but that I shall bee found there a true member of the true Catholicke church of Christ and everlastingly saved. And as for your false church ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it. I have not beene in it these twenty yeares, the Lord be thanked therefore. But now ye have done what yee can my Lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing."

"What is that" quoth he?

"That my poore wife being a stranger, may come and speake with mee so long as I live. For she hath ten children that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsell her what were best for her to doe."

"No," quoth he, "she is not thy wife."

"Yes my Lord," quoth I, "and hath beene these eighteen yeares."

"Should I grant her to be thy wife," quoth he?

"Chuse you," quoth I, "whether yee will or not: she shall bee so neverthelesse."

"She shall not come at thee," quoth he.

"Then have I tried out all your charitie," said I. "You make your selfe highly displeased with the matrimony of Priestes, but you maintaine open whoredome: as in Wales, quoth I, where every Priest hath his whore openly dwelling with him and lying by him: even as your holy Father suffereth all the Priests in Dutchland and in France to doe the like." Thereto he answered not, but looked as it were asquint at it: and thus I departed, and saw him last.

Other good matter there is beside penned by Maister Rogers in the prison, which hee thought, and would have answered, if hee might have beene permitted, as here under followeth to be seene by his own setting downe.

"Hitherto dearely beloved, ye have heard what was said: now heare what I purposed the night before to have said if I could have beene permitted. Two things I purposed to have touched. The one how it was lawfull for a private man to reason and write against a wicked act of Parliament, or ungodly councell, which the Lord Chancellor the day before denied me. The other was to proove that prosperity was not alwaies a token of Gods love. And this I purposed to speake of, because the Lord Chancellour boasted of himselfe that hee was delivered forth of prison, as it were by myracle, and preserved of God to restore true religion, and to punish me and such other, whom he tearmed heretickes. Concerning these two points, in this maner I purposed to have proceeded.

It is not unknowne to you that K. Henry the eight in his time made his daughter the Queen that now is a bastard, he abolished the authority of the Bishop of Rome, he pulled downe Abbeies; and all this hee did by the consent of parliament.

King

King Edward the sixt in his time made lawfull the marriage of Priestes, turned the service into English, abolished thé Idolatrous Masse, with all like superstitious trumperie, set up thé holy Communion; and all by consent of Parliament.

The Queene that now is, hath repealed the Acte that made her Bastard, hath brought in the Bishop of Rome, and set him in his olde authoritie, beginneth to set up Abbeies againe, hath made the mariage of priests unlawefull, hath turned the English service into Latine againe, hath set up the Masse againe with like baggage, and pulled downe the holy Communion; and all this is done by consent of Parliament.

If the Acts of Parliament made in K. Henries time and in K. Edwards, had their foundation upon Gods word, wherupon all positive lawe ought to be grounded, then these which are stablished in the Queenes time, beeing cleane contrarie to the others, as they are not warranted by Gods worde, so are they wicked, and therefore to bee both spoken and written against of all men, as well of private as of publike persons.

If your Actes, my Lord Chancellor, which you have lately coyned (I call them yours, because ye onely beare the swinge: devise, and decree what yee list, all other men are forced to follow) bee good, and according to Gods words, then the former Acts were naught; which thing yee seeme to say, in utterly taking of them away, and setting up of the contrarie: if the former were naught, why then did ye consent unto them, and confirme them to be good by your voluntary and advised writing, as it appeareth, and will to the worlds ende in your Booke *de vera Obedientia*, where you proove the Queene a Bastard, and the Bishop of Rome

Rome to be an usurper, and to have no authority in the Realme of England?

Ye must needes confesse, 'that the most part of your Actes of Parliament in these latter daies, have beene according to the fantasies of a few. King Henry in his time established by parliament in a maner what he listed, and many things that might well have beene amended.

In King Edwards daies the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland, bare a great stroke in things, and did not all things sincerely. Even so, since the Queene that now is, came to the government of the Realme, all things are ordered by your devise, and head, and the whole Parliament house is led as you list; by reason whereof they are compelled to condescend to things both contrarie to Gods manifest worde, and also contrarie to their owne consciences: so great is your crueltie.

For to bring your wicked purposes to passe, and to establishe your Antichristian kingdome (which I trust the Lord, with the breath of his mouth will speedily blowe over) yee have called three Parliaments in one yeere and an halfe, that what you could not compasse by subtill perswasion, yee might bring to passe by tyrannicall threatning: for if ye had not used cruell force in your doings, yee had never brought to passe such things as this day yee have, to the utter defacing and 'abolishing of Gods true Religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your naturall countrey, so much as in you lieth.

And it is most true that as acts of parliament have in these latter daies beene ruled by the fantasies of a few, and the whole Parliament house, contrarie to their minds, was compelled to consent to such things as a fewe have conceived: So it must nerds

needs bee graunted that the Papists at all times were most ready to apply themselves to the present world, and like men pleasers to follow the fantasies of such as were in authoritie, and turne with the estate, which way soever it turned. Yea, if the estate should chaunge tenne times in one yeare, they would ever bee readie at hand to chaunge with it, and so follow the cry, and rather utterly to forsake God, and be of no religion, then that they would forgoe lust or living, for God or for Religion.

King Henry by Parliament, according to Gods worde, put downe the Pope: the clergie consented, and all men openly by othe refused his usurped supreamacy, knowing by Gods word CHRIST to bee head of the Church, and every king in his Realme to have under and next unto Christ, the chiefe Soveraigntie.

King Edward also by parliament, according to Gods word, set the marriage of Priests at liberty, abolished the Popish and Idolatrous Masse, changed the Latine service, and set up the holy Communion: the whole clergie consented hereunto: many of them set it forth by their preaching: and all they by practising confirmed the same.

Notwithstanding, now when the state is altered, and the lawes changed, the papisticall clergie with other like worldlinges, as men neither fearing God, neither flying worldly shame, neither yet regarding their consciences, othes, or honesty, like wavering weather Cockes, turne round about, and putting on harlots foreheads, sing a new song, and cry with an impudent mouth; "Come againe, come againe to the catholicke church," meaning the Antichristian church of Rome, which is the Synagogue of Sathan, and the very sinke of all superstition, heresie, and Idolatry.

Of

Of what force I pray you may a man thinke these Parliaments to be, which scantly can stand a yeare in strength? Or what credite is to bee given to these law makers, which are not ashamed to establish contrary lawes, and to condemne that for evill, which before (the thing in it selfe and the circumstances remaining all one) they affirmed, and decreed to be good. Truly, yé are so ready, contrarie to all right to change and turne for the pleasure of man, that at length I feare, God will use you like changelings, and both turne you forth of his kingdom, and out of your owne countrey.

Ye charge the Gospell preachers with the undoing of this realme: nay it is the turning papists, which have not only set a sale their countrey like traitours, but also troubled the simple people, so that they cannot tell what they may beleeve. For that which they affirmed, and preached to bee true doctrine in King Edwards daies, now they cry against it, as it were most abhominable heresie. This fault I trust ye shall never find at our hands.

Therefore, to conclude that which I purposed, forsomuch as the Actes of Parliament of these latter times are one contrarie to another, and those which yee now have stablished in your time, are contrarie to Gods most manifest worde, as is the usurped supreamacie of the bishop of Rome, the Idolatrous Masse, the Latine service, the prohibiting of lawfull marriage (which Saint Paul calleth the doctrine of divels) with many such others: I say it is not onely lawfull for any private man, which bringeth Gods word for him, and the authoritie of the primitive and best church, to speake and write against such unlawfull lawes, but it is his duety, and hee is bound in very conscience to doe

doe it: Which thing I have prooved by divers examples before, and now will adde to but one other, which is written in the fift of the Acts, where it appeareth that the high Priests, the Elders, Scribes, and Pharisies decreed in their Councell, and gave the same commandement to the Apostles, that they should not preach in the name of Christ, as ye have also forbidden us: notwithstanding when they were charged therewithall, they answered, *we ought more to obey God then man:* even so we may and do answere you. God is more to be obeied then man: and your wicked lawes cannot so tongue tie us, but we will speake the trueth.

The Apostles were beaten for their boldnesse, and they rejoiced that they suffered for Christes cause. Ye have also provided rods for us, and bloudy whips: yet when ye have done that which Gods hand and counsell hath determined that yee shall doe, be it life or death, I trust that God will so assist us by his holy spirit and grace, that we shall patiently suffer it, and praise God for it: and whatsoever become of me and others, which now suffer for speaking, and professing of the truth, yet bee yee sure that Gods worde will prevaile and have the overhand, when your bloudy lawes and wicked decrees, for want of sure foundation, shall fall in the dust: and that which I have spoken of your acts of Parliament, the same may be said of the generall councels of these latter daies, which have been within these five hundreth yeares, where as the Antichrist of Rome, by reason of his usurped authoritie ruled the roast, and decreed such things as made for his gaine, not regarding Gods glory: and therefore are they to be spoken, written, and cried against of all such as feare God, and love his truth.

And

And thus much I purposed to have said, concerning the first point.

Now touching the second point. That whereas my Lord Chancellor had the day before said his pleasure of them that ruled the Realme, while he was in prison, and also rejoiced as though God had made this alteration, even for his sake and his catholicke church, as he called it; and to declare as it were by myracle, that we were before in a Schisme and Heresie, and the Realme was now brought unto an unitie, and to a truth, and I cannot tell whereto: Thereto was I fully purposed to have said. Secondly, my Lord, where as ye yesterday so highly dispraised the government of them that ruled in innocent king Edwards daies, it may please your Lordship to understand, that we poore preachers, whom ye so evill allow, did most boldly and plainely rebuke their evill governance in many things, specially their covetousnesse, and neglect and small regard to live after the Gospell, as also their negligence to occasion other to live thereafter, with moe things than I can nowe rehearse. This can all London testifie with us. I would also have told him, what I my selfe for my part did once at Paules Crosse, concerning the misuse of Abbeies, and other church goods: and I am assured right well, that never a Papist of them all did ever so much therein as I did, I thanke the Lord therefore. I was also, as it is well knowne, faine to answere therefore before all the councell; and many of my brethren did the like; so that wee for the not rebuking of their faults, shall not answere before God, nor be blame worthy before men. Therefore let the gentlemen and the courtiers themselves, and all the Citizens of London, testifie what we did.

But

But my Lord you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a contrary religion unto you. Wherefore in that you seeme so infest against them, it is neither any just or publicke cause, but it is your own private hate, that maketh you to report so evill of their governance. And ye may now say what yee list of them, when they bee partly dead and gone, and partly by you put out of office.

But what shall be said of you when your fall shall follow, yee shall then heare. And I must say my conscience to you: I feare mee yee have and will with your governance bring England out of Gods blessing into a warme sunne. I pray God you do not.

I am an English man borne, and God knoweth, do naturally wish well to my Countrey. And my Lord, I have often prooved, that the things which I have much feared afore hand should come to passe, have in deed followed. I pray God I may faile of my gessing in this behalfe: but truely that will not bee with expelling the true worde of God out of the Realme, and with the sheading of innocent bloud.

And as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you alofte to punish us by myracle (for so you report and bragge openly of your selfe) and to minister Justice, if we will not receive your holy fathers mercie; and thereby to declare your church to be true, and ours false, to that I answere thus: Gods workes be wonderfull, and are not to be comprehended, and perceived by mans wisedome, nor by the wit of the most wise and prudent. Yea, they are soonest deceived, and do most easily judge amisse of Gods wonderfull workes, that are most worldly wise. God hath made all the wisedome of this worlde foolishnesse, (first Corinthians the first,

first, and the second Chapter.) that is, He hath put his beloved and deare heart, into the hands of the enemies thereof. (Jerem. c. 12).

This thing doth God, which thing all wise men accompt to be the most foolish and unwise part that can be. Will the wise of the world, trow ye, put their most deare friends and tenderly beloved children, into their enemies hands, to kill, slay, burn? That is unto them a madnesse above all madnesse. And, yet doth God use this order; and this is an high and singular wisedome in his sight, which the world taketh to bee most extreame madnesse.

Can the world shew a cause why he suffered the great multitude of innocent children to bee murthered of Herode of Ascalon, or why hee put that most holy man John Baptist, into the hands of Herode his sonne to bee beheaded, and that in prison secretly without open judgement most tyrannously? Why hee suffered his beloved Apostle James, to bee beheaded of another Herode (Actes 12)? Why hee suffered his beloved seede of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to bee foure hundred yeares in thraldome and bondage, and under Pharao? And all the stocke of Juda and Benjamin his beloved children and church, to come under the power, sword, and tyranny of Nabuchodonosor? No verely; but his true Catholicke Church knoweth divers causes hereof, which are now too long to rehearse, and which I would right gladly shew, if I had time.

But this I am right sure of, that it was not because that the foresaid godly men were in heresies, and subject to false Gods' services, and Idolatry, and that their adversaries were men of God, and beloved of God. The contrarie was true. John Baptist was beloved of God, and Herode hated, and

and so forth of the rest: and John Baptist, the innocent children, James, the children of Israell, in Egypt, and in Babylon, were the catholicke members and people of GOD: and their adversaries, into whose hands they were put and delivered, and that of GOD, and by his good will and pleasure, were Idolaters and the people of the Divell: but they would be called the chiefe members of GOD, and rejoiced that they had the true GOD, and that it was now declared by myracle, that the Israelites had but a false God, and a false religion, seeing they were delivered into the Babylonians hands. And all the other (the Herodes and Pharao I meane) plainely determined, that if the men which they killed and handled evill, had beene Gods people, GOD woulde never have suffered them to come into their hands, but rather have done the contrarie, and have let John Baptist kill Herode, and the Israelites Pharao, and Nabuchodonosor. Even the like is now to be seene in us, and in our most cruell adversaries.

They are not therefore the catholicke Church, because our mercifull God hath at this present given our lives into their hands: neither are wee therefore heretickes, because we suffer punishment at their hands, as the Lord Chauncellor by his rejoicing, seemeth to gather: the contrarie is hereby to be gathered, that wee be the members of the true Catholicke church, because we suffer for the same doctrine which John Baptist, James, the Israelites, yea Christ, and the apostles, did teach. And in like case, as the above mentioned holy men, though they in their daies, were counted to be heretickes, seditious, and disturbers of the whole world. (for unto John Baptist it was said, John 1. *Wherefore baptisest thou, if thou be not Helias, nor that Prophet, &c.* As who say, " thou hast

no

no such authoritie to begin a newe ceremonie in the Church. For wee be in ordinarie possession of the church: and of us thou hast received no such power. Wee abide by our circumcision:" and the like could I declare of James, and of all the Apostles and Prophets, and of our Saviour Christ himselfe, that were all condemned as heretickes and blaspheamers of God, and disturbers of the whole world. Paule and Silas (Act. 16.) heard like wordes of the Philippians: " these men trouble our Citie, seeing they are Jewes, and preach institutions, which are not lawfull for us to receive, seeing we be Romanes." And in Athens, the wise men of this world, and such as gave their endevour to wisedome, said by S. Paul, What will this prater (as my Lord Chancellor said to me, " Shall wee suffer this fellowe to prate," when I would faine have said that thing, that I have here written) trifler, newes carier, or bringer, that telleth whatsoever men will have him, for gaine and advantage, that will for a piece of bread say what yee will have him, &c. And another said in the same place; *hee seemeth to be a preacher of new Divels.* And, Actes 21. the Jewes say by Paule, laying hands on him, *helpe O yee Israelites*, say they, *this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people* (meaning the Jewes) *and the lawe and this place*, meaning Jerusalem, and yet was never a word of these true. And Actes 22. the same Jewes said of Paule; *out of the earth with that man*, or *away with him. For it is not lawfull for him to live*, or hee is not worthy to live. And how many mo of these examples are to be found in the Bible? Although, I say, these men were in their daies taken for heretickes, of them that were then in authoritie, and of the great multitude of the world, yet it is nowe well knowne, yea and very shortly

shortly after their deathes this was knowne; yea, and even in their lives also unto the true Catholick church, that they were not only the chiefe and speciall members of the true catholicke church, but also the founders and builders thereof, (notwithstanding the sinister judgement, that the wise and mighty men, and the great multitude of the world had of them) and in their consciences they were alwaies assuredly certified of the same. Even the same shall the world find true in us, shortly after our deathes, as also there be at this houre (the Lord be thanked therefore) not a fewe, that already know it; as we our selves also are by Gods grace assuredly certified in our consciences, that we are no heretickes, but members of the true catholicke Church, and that our adversaries the bishops and popish clergie, which will have that title, are the members of Sathans church, and their Antichristian head of Rome with them.

But here they will cry out: loe these men will bee still like John Baptist, the Apostles and Prophets, &c.

I answere, wee make not our selves like unto them, in the singular vertues and gifts of God, given unto them: as of miracles doing, and of many other things. The similitude and likenesse of them and us, consisteth not in all things, but only in this, that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the suffering of persecution and infamie for the same.

We have preached their very doctrine and none other thing. That wee are able sufficiently to declare by their writinges: and by writing for my part, I have profered to proove the same (as is now often said). And for this cause wee suffer the like reproache, shame, and rebuke of the world, and the like persecution, leesing of our lives and goods, forsaking

forsaking (as our maister Christ commaundeth) father, mother, sister, brethren, wives, children, and all that there is, being assured of a joyfull resurrection, and to be crowned in glorie with them, according to the unfallible promises made unto us in Christ, our onely and sufficient mediatour, reconciler, priest, and sacrifice, which hath pleased the father, and quieted and pacified his wrath against our sinnes, and made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight by imputation, although we, of, and in our selves are bespotted, and beblotted with many filthy sinnes, which if the great mercy graunted in Christ, did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his measurelesse unspeakeable mercy and love to save us, they woulde have brought us to everlasting damnation, and death perpetuall. Heerein, and in no other, do we affirme our selves to bee like unto our head Christ, and all his Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs and Saintes: And heerein ought all christian men to be like them, and heerein are all true christian men and women like them every one, according to the measure of the faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diversitie of the giftes of the spirit given unto them.

But let us now consider, that if it bee Gods good will and pleasure, to give his owne beloved heart, that is his beloved Church, and the members thereof, into the hands of their enemies, to chasten, try and proove them, and to bring them to the true unfained acknowledging of their owne naturall stubburnesse, disobedience towards God, and his commandements, as touching the love of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their naturall inclination, readinesse and desire, to love creatures, to seeke their owne lusts, pleasures and things forbidden of God, to obtaine a true and earnest repentance,

pentance, and sorrowfulnesse therefore, and to make them to sigh and cry for the forgivenesse of the same, and for the aide of the spirit, daily to mortifie and kill the said evill desires and lusts: yea and often falling into grosse outward sinnes, as did David, Peter, Magdalen, and other, to rise againe also thereout with a mighty crying for mercie, with many other causes: let us also consider what hee hereafter doth with the said enemies, into whose hands hee hath given his tenderly beloved dearelings to be chastened and tried. Forsooth, whereas he but chasteneth his dearelings, and crosseth them for a small while, according to his good pleasure, as all fathers doe with their children, (Heb. 12. Proverb 3.) he utterly destroyeth, yea and everlastingly damneth the unrepentant enemies. Let Herode tell mee what hee wanne by killing James, and persecuting Peter, and Christes tender dearlings, and beloved spouse and wife, his Church. Verely God thought him not worthy to have death ministered unto him by men or Angells, or any worthy creatures, but those small, and yet most vile beastes, lice, and small wormes, must consume and kill his vile, and tyrannous body. Pharao and Nabuchodonoser, for all their pride and most mighty power, must at the length let Gods dearelings go freely away out of their land, yea out of their hands and tyranny. For when it could not bee obtained at their hands, that Gods congregation might have true mercy ministered unto them, but the counterfaite mercie of these our daies, that is to say, extreame cruelty, and even the very and that most horrible and cruell death, God arose and awoke out of his sleepe, and destroyed those enemies of his flocke, with a mighty hand and stretched out arme. Pharao did with most great and intolerable labors and burdens, oppresse and bring

under the poore Israelites, and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noise abroade, that the king was mercifull unto them, to suffer them to live in the land, and to set them a worke, that they might get them their livinges. If hee should thrust them out of his land, whither should they goe, like a sort of vagabonds and runnagates? This title and name of mercie, would that tyrant have, and so did his flattering false courtiers spread his vaine praise abroade. Have not wee the like examples nowe adaies? O that I had nowe time to write certain things pertaining to our Winchesters mercy. Howmercifull hee hath beene to mee and to my good brethren I will not speake of; neither yet unto the Duke of Suffolkes most innocent daughter, and to her as innocent husband. For although their fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lacke of experience deserved a pardon by all true mercifull mens judgements. O that I had time to paint out this matter aright: but there bee many alive that can doe it much better, when I am dead. Pharao had his Plagues: and his most flourishing land was by counterfaite mercy, which was in deede right crueltie and abhominable tyranny, utterly destroied. And thinke yee that butcherly Bishoppe of Winchester and his brethren shall escape? Or that England shall for their offences, and specially for the maintenance of their Idolatry, and wilfull following of them, not abide a great brunt? Yes undoubtedly.

If God looke not mercifully upon England, the seedes of utter destruction are sowne in it alreadie, by these hypocriticall Tyrants, Antichristian Prelates, and double Traitours to their naturall Countrey. And yet they speake of mercy, of blessing, of the catholick Church, of unity, of power and strengthening of the realme. This double dissimulation

lation will shew it selfe one day when the plague commeth, which will undoubtedly light upon these crowneshorne captaines, and that shortly, whatsoever the godly, and the poore Realme suffer in the meane while, by Gods good sufferance and will.

Spite of Nabuchodonosors beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall and miserable Jewes must come home againe, and have their citie and temple builded up againe by Zorobabell, Esdras, and Nehemias. And the whole kingdome of Babylon must goe to ruine, and be taken of strangers, the Persians and the Medes: So shall the dispersed English flocke of Christ be brought againe into their former estate, or to a better I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King Edwards daies, and our bloudy Babylonical bishops, and the whole crowne shorne company brought to utter shame, rebuke, ruine, decay, and destruction: For God cannot, and undoubtedly wil not suffer for ever their abhominable lying false doctrine, their hypocrisie, bloudthirst, whoredome, idlenesse, their pestilent life pampered in all kinde of pleasure, their Thrasonicall boasting pride, their malicious, envious, and poisoned stomackes, which they beare towards his poore and miserable christians. Peter truely warneth, that if judgement beginneth at the house of God, what shall be the ende of them that beleeve not the Gospell? If the righteous shall scant be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinfull appeare? Some shal have their punishment here in this world, and in the world to come; and they that doe escape in this world, shall not escape everlasting dampation."

After that John Rogers, as ye have heard, had beene long and straightly imprisoned, lodged in Newgate amongst theeves, often examined, and

very uncharitably intreated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly by wicked Winchester condemned: the fourth of February, in the yeare of our Lord 1555. being Munday in the morning, hee was warned sodainly by the keepers wife of Newgate, to prepare himselfe to the fire: who then being sound a sleepe, scarse with much shogging could be awaked. At length being raised and waked, and bid to make haste, "then," said hee, "if it bee so, I neede not to tie my points:" and so was had downe, first to Boner to be degraded. That done, hee craved of Boner but one petition. And Boner asking what that should be: "nothing said hee, but that he might talke a few words with his wife," before his burning. But that could not bee obtained of him. Then said hee, "you declare your charity, what it is:" and so hee was brought into Smithfield by maister Chester, and maister Woodrofe, then sheriffes of London, there to be burnt; where he shewed most constant patience, not using many words, for hee could not bee permitted, but only exhorting the people constantly to remaine in that faith and true doctrine which hee before had taught and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof hee was not onely content patiently to suffer and beare all such bitternesse and cruelty as had been shewed him, but also most gladly to resign up his life, and to give his flesh to the consuming fire, for the testimony of the same.

Briefely and in fewe wordes to comprehend the whole order of his life, doings, and martyrdom, first this godly M. Rogers was committed to prison, as is abovesaid, and there continued a yeare and a halfe. In prison he was merry, and earnest in all he went about. He wrote much: his examinations hee penned with his owne hand, which els had never

never come to light. Wherein is to bee noted by the way a memorable working of Gods providence. Yee heard a little above how maister Rogers craved of Boner, going to his burning, that he might speak a few wordes before with his wife, which coulde not bee graunted. What these words were which hee had to say to his wife, it is for no man certainely to define: Likely it may be supposed that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signifie unto her of the booke written of his examinations and answeres, which he had privily hid in a secret corner of the prison where hee lay. But where mans power lacketh, see how Gods providence worketh! For notwithstanding, that during the time of his imprisonment, straite search there was to take away his letters and writings: yet after his death, his wife and one of her sonnes called Daniell, comming into the place where he lay, to seeke for his bookes and writings, and now ready to goe away, it chanced her sonne aforenamed, casting his eye aside to spy a black thing (for it had a black cover, belike because it should not bee knowne) lying in a blinde corner under a paire of stairs; who willing his mother to see what it was, found it to bee the booke written with his owne hand, containing these his examinations and answeres, with other matter above specified.

Furthermore, amongst other his words and sayings, which may seeme prophetically to be spoken of him, this also may be added, and is notoriously to be marked, that he spake being then in prison, to the Printer of this present booke, who then also was laid up for like cause of religion: "Thou," said he, "shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the gospell to be freely preached againe: and therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them

be

be circumspect in displacing the Papists, and putting good ministers into Churches, or else their end will be worse than ours." And for lacke of good ministers to furnish churches, his devise was[9] (M. Hooper also agreeing to the same) that for every ten churches, some one good and learned superintendent should be appointed, which should have under him faithfull Readers, such as might well be got, so that popish Priests should cleane be put out, and the bishop once a yeere to oversee the profiting of the Parishes, and if the minister did not his duety, as well in profiting himselfe in his booke, and his parishioners in good instructions, so that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they doe profite, then he to be expelled, and an other put in his place: and the bishop to do the like with the superintendent. This was his counsell and request. Shewing moreover, and protesting in his commendations to his brethren by the Printer aforesaid, that if they would not so doe, their end hee said would be worse than theirs.

Over and besides divers other things touching M. Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the daies of K. Edward the sixt, there was a controversie among the Bishops and clergie, for wearing of priests caps, and other attire belonging to that order. M. Rogers being one of that number which never went otherwise then in a round cap, during all the time of king Edward, affirmed that he would not agree to that decreement of uniformitie, but upon this condition, that if they would needs have such an uniformitie of wearing the cap, tippet, &c. then it should also be decreed withall, that the pa-

[9] *His devise was.*] Compare Becon's Works. Vol. II. fol. 7. b. Jewel of Joy.

pists

pists for a difference betwixt them and other, should bee constrained to weare upon their sleeves a chalice with an host upon it. Whereunto if they would consent, hee would agree to the other; otherwise he would not he said consent to the setting forth of the same, nor ever weare the cap, as indeed he never did.

To proceede now further in describing the doinges of this man: during the time while he remained prisoner in Newgate, hee was to the prisoners beneficiall and liberall; for whom hee had thus devised, that he with his fellowes should have but one meale a day, they paying notwithstanding, for the charges of the whole; the other meale should be given to them that lacked on the other side of the prison. But Alexander their keeper, a straite man, and a right Alexander, a Coppersmith indeed, of whose doings more shall be said, God willing hereafter, would in no case suffer that. The Sunday before he suffered, he drank to M. Hooper, being then underneath him; and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, there was never little fellow better would sticke to a man than he would sticke to him, presupposing that they should both be burned togither; although it hapned otherwise, for maister Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefely concerning the life and such actes of M. Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

Now when the time came, that he being delivered to the shiriffes, should bee brought out of Newgate to Smithfield the place of his execution; first came to him M. Woodrofe one of the foresaid shiriffes, and calling M. Rogers unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abhominable doctrine, and his evill opinion of the Sacrament of the aultar. M. Rogers aunswered and said; "that which I

have preached, I will seale with my bloud." Then quoth maister Woodrofe, "thou art an hereticke." "That shall be knowne," quoth Rogers, "at the day of judgement." "Well," (quoth maister Woodrofe) "I will never pray for thee[1]." "But I will pray for you," quoth Maister Rogers; and so was brought the same day, which was Munday the fourth of Februarie, by the shiriffes toward Smithfield, saying the Psalme *Miserere*[2] by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoysing at his constancie, with great praises and thankes to God for the same: and there in the presence of Maister Rochester, controller of the queenes housholde, Sir Richard Southwell, both the shiriffes, and a wonderfull number of people, hee was burned into

[1] *I will never pray for thee.*] At the burning of John Frith, in the year 1533, "This one thing is yet to be remembered" (says Fox) "that he being bounde to the stake with another good martyr, which was a very simple young man named Andrew Hewet, there was present one Doctour Cooke, that was parson of the Church called All hallows in Hony Lane, situate in the myddest of Chepesyde. And the sayd Cooke made an open exclamation, and admonished the people, *that they should in no wise pray for them*, noe more than they would doe for a dogge. At which words Frith smiling, desired the Lord to forgive him. But the ungodly and uncharitable wordes of the sayd Doctour did not a little offend the people." Fox's *Life of Frith*, prefixed to his Works.

[2] *The psalme Miserere.*] This, which is the 51st psalm, and one of those commonly called the *seven penitential* psalms, appears to have been frequently made use of upon the like melancholy occasions. See Fox's *Acts* p. 1388, in his account of Dr. Taylor, p. 1398, in that of William Hunter, and More's *Life of Sir Thomas More* p. 274.

In like manner, we find the 106th psalm sometimes resorted to, (Fox's *Acts*. p. 1558) and, that Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, at his death, "with an obedient heart full meekly sayd the 106th, 107th, and 108th. psalmes." Fox's *Acts*. p. 1661.

ashes,

ashes [3], washing his hands in the flame as hee was in burning. A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought if he would have recanted, but he utterly refused it. He was the first Protomartyr of all the blessed company that suffered in queene Maries time, that gave the first adventure upon the fire. His wife and children

[3] *He was burned into ashes.*] We may easily believe, that events of this tragical nature would awaken a variety of passions in the minds of the spectators: nor is it surprizing, that superstition had its place amongst them. Miles Hoggard, a most intemperate and malignant enemy of the Reformation, has recorded an anecdote of this kind respecting the martyrdom of Rogers, which is worthy of insertion. "When Rogers their *pseudo-martyr (proto-martyr* I would saye) was burnt in Smithfield, were there not divers marchant men and others, which seeing certayn pigeons flying over the fire, that haunted to a house hard adjoining, and which, being amased withe the smoke, forsoke their nestes, and newe over the fire, were not ashamed boldely to affirme, that the same was the Holy Ghoste in the likeness of a dove? This thinge is sufficiently knowen by experience to them which were there present. Then by the lyke argument they might have said, the crowes which the same time hovered over the fire, were develles. But what blasphemy is this, suche opinionative fooles to beleve or credite such fansies?" *Displaying of the Protestants.* fol. 56. A. D. 1556.

To this Hoggard, by trade a Hosier, whose activity and influence against the Protestants was very great during the reign of Q. Mary, Robert Crowley, addressing himself, at an earlier period, says,

"Remembre your selfe, frynde Hogherde, howe manie you have sette forwarde towarde Smithfild in the tyme of persecution. Men thinke that frome the tyme of John Frith to the death of the constant witnesse of Gods trueth, Anne Askewe, there was no bloud shed in Smythfylde, but your parte will be in it at the laste daye. Repent therfore, and acknowledge your faute: God is mercifull to the pemtent. He is able to take frome you your stonie herte, and to give you one of flesh." *Confutation of the Aunswere to the Ballad called the Abuse of the blessed Sacrament of the Aultare.* signat. a 4. b. A. D. 1548.

beeing

beeing eleven in number, ten able to go, and one sucking on her brest, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield: this sorrowfull sight of his owne flesh and bloud could nothing moove him, but that he constantly and cheerefully tooke his death with wonderfull patience, in the defence of the quarell of Christes Gospell.

BISHOP HOOPER.

A Patriot's blood
Well spent in such a strife, may earn indeed,
And for a time ensure, to his lov'd land
The sweets of liberty and equal laws.
But Martyrs struggle for a brighter prize,
And win it with more pain. Their blood is shed
In confirmation of the noblest claim—
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,
To walk with God, to be divinely free,
To soar, and to anticipate the skies.

COWPER.

BISHOP HOOPER.

JOHN HOOPER student and graduate in the University of Oxford, after the study of other Sciences, wherein he had aboundantly profited and proceeded, through Gods secret vocation [1] was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the Scriptures. In the reading and searching wherof, as there lacked in him no diligence, joined

[1] *God's secret vocation.*] We have some particulars of Hooper's early history from his own pen, in a letter to Henry Bullinger, from which it appears, that he was much influenced in his conversion by the writings of that Divine, and of Huld. Zuinglius. "Non multos ante annos" (says he), "cum in aula Regis nostri, aulicus aulice plus satis vixerim, ornatissime Domine et Frater in Christo dilectissime, tum fausto et felici omine mihi obtulerunt sese quædam opera Doctoris Huldrici Zuinglii, eximii viri piæ memoriæ, et commentaria in Paulinas Epistolas, quis tu felicissime universo orbo innotuisti, in perpetuum tui nominis monimentum duraturum. Ista egregia Dei dona universo mundo per vos exhibita, negligere nolui; cum in ipsis præsertim de animæ meæ salute felicitateque perpetua serio agi videbam. Omni itaque studio, et velut diligentia quadam superstitiosa, noctes atque dies operam vestris scriptis navare operæ pretium fore duxi. Nec labor iste mihi unquam molestus in ea re fuit. Nam postquam excessi ex Ephebis, et Patris clementiâ liberius vivendi fuit potestas, cultu impio et quovis genere idolatriæ, Majorum æmulatus impietatem, Deum prius cœperam blasphemare, quam quid Deus esset, recte cognoveram. Inde tamen Dei benignitate liberatus, quod Deo et vobis unice acceptum fero, jam nihil restat, quod ad reliquum vitæ meæ et ultima fata spectat, quam ut Deum pura mente colam." Hottingeri *Histor. Ecclesiast. novi Testamenti.* Vol. VI. p. 271. Hottinger does not mention, whether the original letter, from which he transcribed the above extract, bore any date of time and place.

with

with earnest praier, so neither wanted unto him the grace of the holy ghost to satisfie his desire, and to open unto him the light of true Divinitie.

Thus maister Hooper growing more and more by Gods grace, in ripenesse of spirituall understanding, and shewing withall some sparkles of his fervent spirite, being then about the beginning of the sixe Articles [2], in the time of K. Henry the 8. fell eftsoones into displeasure and hatred of certaine Rabbines in Oxford, who by and by began to stirre coales against him, whereby, and especially by the procurement of Doctour Smith, he was compelled to void the Universitie; and so remooving from thence, was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundell, and there was his Steward; till the time that Sir Thomas Arundell having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the person and conditions of the man, found the meanes to send him in a message to the bishop of Winchester, writing his letter privily to the bishop, by conference of learning to doe some good upon him, but in any case requiring him to send home his servant to him againe.

Winchester after long conference with M. Hooper four or five daies togither, when hee at length perceived that neither hee could doe that good which he thought to him, nor that hee would take any good, at his hand, according to M. Arundels request, he sent home his servant againe, right well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his brest a grudging stomacke against maister Hooper still.

It followed not long after this, as malice is alwaies working mischiefe, that intelligence was

[2] *Beginning of the sixe Articles.*] This was in the year 1539. Comp. Cromwell's Life, p. 325, note 3.

given

given to Maister Hooper to provide for himselfe, for danger that was working against him. Whereupon M. Hooper leaving M. Arundels house, and borrowing an horse of a certaine friend (whose life he had saved a little before from the gallowes) tooke his journey to the Sea side, to go to France, sending back the horse again by one, which indeed did not deliver him to the owner. M. Hooper beeing at Paris taried there not long, but in short time returned into Englande againe, and was retained of M. Sentlow, till the time that he was again molested and laid for: whereby he was compelled, under the pretence of being captaine of a ship going to Ireland, to take the Seas, and so escaped he (although not without extreame perill of drowning) through France, to the higher parts of Germany. Where hee entering acquaintance with learned men, was of them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Basill, and especially at Zurick of maister Bullinger, being his singular friend. Where also he married his wife, which was a Burgonian, and applied very studiously the Hebrue tongue.

At length when God saw it good to stay the bloudy time of the six articles, and to give us K. Edward to raigne over this Realme, with some peace and rest unto the Gospell, amongst many other English exiles, which then repaired homeward, M. Hooper also, moved in conscience, thought not to absent himself but seeing such a time and occasion, offered to helpe forwarde the Lords worke, to the uttermost of his abilitie. And so comming to M. Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurick, (as dutie required) to give them thanks for their singular kindnesse and humanitie toward him manifolde waies declared, with like humanitie he again purposed to take his leave of

of them at his departing, and so did. Unto whom M. Bullinger againe, (who had alwaies a speciall favour to M. Hooper) spake on this wise; "M. Hooper," said hee, "although we are sory to part with your company, for our own cause, yet much greater causes we have to rejoice, both for your sake, and especially for the cause of Christs true religion, that you shall now returne out of long banishment into your native countrey againe; where not onely you may enjoy your own private libertie, but also the cause and state of Christs Church by you may fare the better, as we doubt not but it shal.

"An other cause moreover why wee rejoice with you and for you, is this, that you shall remoove not only out of exile into liberty: but you shall leave here a barren, a sowre, and an unpleasant country, rude and savage, and shall goe into a land flowing with milk and hony, replenished with all pleasure and fertilitie. Notwithstanding with this our rejoicing, one feare and care wee have, least you being absent, and so farre distant from us, or els comming to such aboundance of wealth and felicitie, in your new welfare, and plenty of all thinges, and in your flourishing honors, where ye shall come peradventure to be a bishop, and where ye shall finde so many new friends, you will forget us your old acquaintance and wellwillers. Nevertheless, howsoever you shall forget and shake us off, yet this perswade your selfe, that we will not forget our old friend and fellow Master Hooper. And if you will please not to forget us againe, then I pray you let us heare from you."

Whereunto M. Hooper answering againe, first gave to M. Bullinger and the rest right harty thanks, for that their singular good will, and undeserved affection, appearing not only now, but at all

all times towards him: declaring moreover that as the principal cause of his remooving to his countrey was the matter of Religion; so touching the unplesantnes and barrennesse of that countrey of theirs, there was no cause therein, why hee could not finde in his hart to continue his life there, as soone as in any place in the world, and rather than in his owne native countrey, if there were nothing els in his conscience that mooved him so to doe. And as touching the forgetting of his olde friends, although, said hee, the remembrance of a mans countrey naturally doth delight him, neither could hee deny, but God had blessed his countrey of England with many great commodities: yet neither the nature of countrey nor pleasure of commodities, nor newnesse of friends should ever induce him to the oblivion of such friends and benefactors, whom hee was so intirely bound unto: and therfore you shall be sure, said he, from time to time to heare from me, and I will write unto you as it goeth with me. But the last newes of all I shall not be able to write: for there, said he, (taking M. Bullinger by the hand) where I shall take most paines, there shall you heare of mee to be burned to ashes: and that shall be the last newes which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall heare it of me[3]."

To this also may be added an other like prophetical demonstration, foreshewing before the

[3] *Shall heare it of me.*] Bullinger, in a letter written to Hooper in prison, dated Zurich, Octob. 10, 1554, refers to their common forebodings of his future sufferings. "Now (says he) is that thing happened unto you, my brother, the which we did oftentimes prophecie unto ourselves at your being with us, should come to passe, especiallie when we did talke of the power of Anti-Christ, and of his felicitie and victories." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1379.

maner of his Martyrdome wherewith he should glorifie God, which was this. When M. Hooper being made bishop of Worcester and Glocester should have his armes given him by the Herald, as the maner is [4] here in England, every bishop to have his armes assigned unto him (whether by the appointment of Maister Hooper, or by the Herald I have not certainely to say) but the armes which were to him allotted was this; a Lambe in a fierie bush, and the sun beames from heaven descending down upon the lambe, rightly denoting, as it seemed, the order of his suffering, which afterward followed.

But now to the purpose of our story againe: Thus when M. Hooper had taken his farewell of maister Bullenger and his friends at Zurick, he made his repaire againe into England [5] in the raigne of K. Edward the 6. where he comming to London used continually to preach, most times twise, at least once every day and never failed.

[4] *As the maner is.*] "Thus did the King" (says Strype speaking of Henry 8th and Archbishop Cranmer) "interpose himself divers times between his Archbishop, and his irreconcileable enemies the Papists: and observing, by these essays against him, under what perils he was like to come hereafter for his religion, about this time (1544) it was, as I conjecture, that the King changed his paternal coat of arms . . . and altered the *three Cranes*, which were parcel of his ancestors arms, into *three Pelicans*, declaring unto him, that those birds should signify unto him, that he ought to be ready, as the Pelican is, to shed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the faith of Christ. For, said the King, you are like to be tasted, if you stand to your tackling, at length." Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, p. 126.

[5] *Repaire againe into England.*] This was probably early in the year 1548. His *Answer to my Lord of Winchester's book* is dated from Zurich Sept. 9. 1547, and his *Declaration of Christ*, from the same place, Dec. 8. in the same year.

maner

In his sermons, according to his accustomed maner, he corrected sinne, and sharpely inveighed against the iniquitie of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church. The people in great flockes and companies, dayly came to heare his voice, as the most melodious sound and tune of Orpheus harpe, as the proverb saith: Insomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching the church would be so full, that none could enter further then the doores thereof. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the scriptures perfect, in paines indefatigable.

Moreover, besides other his giftes and qualities, this is in him to be marvailed, that even as hee began, so hee continued still unto his lifes end. For neither could his labour and pain-taking breake him, neither promotion chaunge him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kind of slander (although divers went about to reproove it) could fasten any faulte uppon him. He was of body strong, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatsoever sinister fortune and adversitie could do. He was constant of judgment, a good Juſticer, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time. In housekeeping very liberall, and sometime more free than his living would extend unto. Briefely, of all those vertues and qualities required of S. Paule in a good bishop, in his epistle to Timothy, I knowe not one in this good bishop lacking. Hee bare in countenance and talke alwaies a certaine severe and grave Grace, which might peradventure be wished sometime to have been a little more popular and vulgar-like in him: but he knew what he had to do best himselfe.

This by the way I thought to note; for that there was once an honest Citizen, and to mee not unknowne, which having in himselfe a certaine conflict of conscience, came to his doore for counsell, but being abashed at his austere behaviour durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedie of his troubled minde at other mens hands, which he afterward by the help of almighty God did finde and obtaine. Therefore in my judgement, such as are appointed and made governors over the flock of Christ, to teach and instruct them, ought so to frame their life, maners, countenance and externall behavior, as neither they shew themselves too familiar and light, wherby to be brought into contempt, nor on the other side againe, that they appeare more lofty and rigorous, than appeartaineth to the edifying of the simple flocke of Christ. Neverthelesse, as every man hath his peculiar gift wrought in him by nature, so this disposition of fatherly gravitie in this man neither was excessive, neither did he beare that personage which was in him, without great consideration. For it seemed to him peradventure, that this licentious and unbridled life of the common sort, ought to bee chastened, not only with wordes and discipline, but also with the grave and severe countenance of good men.

After he had thus practised himselfe in this popular and common kinde of preaching; at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the kings majesty, and soone after, made bishop of Glocester by the kings commandement. In that office he continued two yeares, and behaved himselfe so well, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings, and sharpe correcting of sinne) could finde no fault with

with him: and after that he was made Bishop of Worcester[6].

But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of Bishops, and of their apparell, with such other like trifles, began to disturbe the good and luckie beginning of this godly Bishop. For notwithstanding that godly reformation of religion begunne in the church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparell as the popish Bishops were woont to do: first a Chymere, and under that a white Rochet, then a mathematicall cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into foure parts. These trifles tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in no wise could he be perswaded to weare them. For this cause he made supplication to the Kings majesty, most humbly desiring his highnesse either to discharge him of the bishopricke, or els to dispense with him for such ceremoniall orders. Whose petition the king granted immediately, writing his letter to the Archbishop after this tenour.

"Right reverend father, and right trusty and welbeloved, we greet you well. Whereas we by the advise of our councel, have called and chosen our right welbeloved & well worthy, M. John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of

[6] *Bishop of Worcester.*] He was nominated to the See of Gloucester May 15th, 1550, but was not consecrated till March 8th in the following year. He had the Bishopric of Worcester granted to him to hold in *commendam*, on the deprivation of Bishop Heath, in April 1552. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 101. 299. And towards the end of the same year the two dioceses were united, from thenceforth to be reputed and taken as one. Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 355.

Glocester,

Glocester, as wel for his great knowledge, ripe judgement and long study both in the scriptures and other prophane learning, as also for his good discretion, ready utterance & honest life for that kind of vocation; to the intent al our loving subjects which are in his said charge and elsewhere, might by his sound and true doctrine learne the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and their love towards their neighbors: from consecrating of whom, wee understand you do stay, because hee would have you omit & let passe certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby ye thinke ye should fal in Premunire of lawes: wee have thought good by the advise aforesaid, to dispense & discharge you of all maner of dangers, penalties and forfaitures, you should run and be in any maner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shal be your sufficient warrant and discharge therefore.

Yeven under our signet at our Castell of Windsore, the 5. of August, the 4. yeare of our raigne.

Ed. Somerset. W. Paget.
W. Wiltshire. An. Wingfield.
W. North. N. Wootton."

Besides this letter of the king, also the Earle of Warwick (which was afterwards Duke of Northumberland) adjoined his letter to the foresaid Archbishop of Canturbury to this purpose and effect, that maister Hooper might not be burdened with the oath [7] used then commonly in the consecration of

[7] *Burdened with the oath.*] Strype *supposes*, and Bishop Burnet *asserts*, that this was the oath of Canonical obedience.

Life

of Bishops, which was against his conscience, as by the purport of the letter here is to be seene, as followeth.

"After my most harty commendations to your Grace, these may be to desire the same, that in such reasonable things, wherin this bearer my Lord elect of Glocester, craveth to be born withall at your hands, you wold vouchsafe to shew him your Graces favor, the rather at this my instance: which thing, partly, I have taken in hand by the kings Majesties own motion. The matter is waied by his Highnes none other but that your Grace may facily condescend unto. The principal cause is, that you would not charge this said bearer with an oth burdenous to his conscience. And so for lacke of time I commit your Grace to the tuition of almighty God. From Westminster the 23 of July, 1550.

Your Graces most assured loving friend
I. Warwike."

Life of Cranmer, p. 211. and *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. II. p. 146. But in his third volume, the Bishop, apparently upon better grounds, affirms that it was the oath of Supremacy, and tells us, upon the authority of Micronius, Minister of the German Church in London, that his exception to the oath was, because the *form* ran in these words, "by God, *by the Saints*, and by the Holy Gospels." This he thought impious. And when he was before the Council, the King being present, he argued that God only ought to be appealed to in an oath, for he only knew the thoughts of men. The King was so fully convinced by this, that with his own pen he struck these words out of the oath, saying that no *creature* was to be appealed to in an oath. This being cleared, no scruple remained but with relation to the Habits. Burnet. Vol. III. p. 203. The Bishop, it is probable, was first set right upon this subject by a note of the learned Mr. Baker, of St. John's College, Cambridge. See *Hist. of Reformat.* Vol. III. 407. Appendix.

Both

Both this grant of the King, and also the Earles letters aforesaid notwithstanding, the bishops still stoode earnestly in defence of the aforesaid ceremonies, saying it was but a small matter, and that the faulte was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves: adding moreover, that he ought not to bee so stubburne in so light a matter, and that his wilfulnesse therein was not to be suffered.

To be short, whilest both parties thus contended about this matter more than reason would, in the meane time occasion was given, as to the true Christians to lament, so to the adversaries to rejoice. In conclusion, this Theological contention came to this end, that the bishops having the upper hand, Maister Hooper was fain to agree to this condition, that sometimes he should in his Sermon shew himselfe apparelled as the other bishops were. Wherefore, appointed to preach before the king as a new plaier in a strange apparel, he commeth forth on the stage. His upper garment was a long scarlet Chymere downe to the foote, and under that a white linnen Rochet that covered all his shoulders. Upon his head he had a Geometricall, that is, a four squared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cause of shame the strangenesse hereof was that day to that good preacher, every man may easily judge. But this private contumely and reproach in respect of the publike profite of the Church, which hee onely sought, hee bare and suffered patiently. And I would to God in like maner, they which tooke upon them the other part of that tragedie, had yeelded their private cause, whatsoever it was, to the publike concord and edifying of the church: for no man in all the Citie, was one hair the better for that hot contention.

I will

I will name no body[8], partly for that his oppugners beeing afterwards joined in the most sure friendship with him, in one and for one cause, suffred martyrdome; and partly for that I commonly use according to my accustomed maner, to keep my pen from presumptuous judging of any person: yet I thought to note the thing for this consideration, to admonish the reader hereby how wholesome & necessarie the crosse of Christ is sometime in the church of Christ, as by the sequele hereof did afterward appeare. For as in a civill governance and common wealth, nothing is more occasion of war, than overmuch peace; so in the church, and among churchmen, as nothing is more pernicious than too

[8] *I will name no body.*] The Reader is desired to notice this part of the narrative, as it contains the beginnings of a new scene of controversy, directly opposite to those which we have hitherto been engaged in. Fox's inclinations towards Puritanism are well known; and are very apparent as well in his whole account of this controversy respecting Hooper's consecration, as in many other parts of his History. The narrative is coloured in a manner much too favourable to the memory of Hooper. When the Author says, that "*he will name nobody*," we may be permitted to mention, that while Hooper's principal antagonists were Cranmer and Ridley, names not to be ashamed of, and men certainly very much Hooper's superiors in learning, good temper, and wisdom, his conduct was not approved of, even by Peter Martyr, and Martin Bucer, whose foreign habits and partialities certainly tended towards Puritanism: if the Reader is desirous of a more full and correct knowledge of *this part* of the Controversy, which upon its *revival* in the reign of Q. Elizabeth blazed out with fury, and became of most pernicious extent and importance, he may consult Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.* Vol. II. p. 152—154. Vol. III. p. 199—204. Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials.* Vol. II. p. 224—227. *Life of Cranmer.* p. 211—216. Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 309—324. &c. &c. It is some little, and yet but a little, consolation, that Hooper himself at length saw his error, and was ashamed of his pertinacity. See Pullen's *Moderation of the Church of England*, p. 224.

much

much quietnes, so nothing more ceaseth private contentions oftentimes rising amongst them, than the publike crosse of persecution.

Furthermore, so I perswaded my selfe, the same not to bee unexpedient, to have extant such examples of holy and blessed men. For if it do not a little appertaine to our publick consolation and comfort, when we read in the scriptures of the foule dissention betweene Paule and Barnabie, of the fall of Peter, and of Davids murder and adultery; why may or should it not be as well profitable for our posterity, to heare & know the falls of these godly martyrs, whereby we may the lesse despaire in our infirmitie, considering the same or greater infirmities to raigne in the holy saints of God, both Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs? And this by the way.

Thou hast heard, good Reader, hitherto the weakness of these good men, plainly & simply, as the truth was, declared unto thee, to the end their fall may minister occasion to us either of eschewing the like, or else to take hart and comfort in the like fall and frailnesse of ours. Now againe on the other part it remaineth to record after the foresaid discord the godly reconciliations of these good men in time of persecution, who afterward being in prison for the truths sake, reconciled themselves again with most godly agreement, as appeareth by this letter sent by bishop Ridley, to the said bishop of Glocester. The copie whereof as it was written with his own hand in Latin, hereafter followeth translated into English.

To my deare brother and reverend fellow Elder in Christ, John Hooper, grace and peace.

"My dearly beloved brother & fellow elder, whom I reverence in the Lord; pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto since your captivitie, & mine, I have not saluted you by my letters, whereas, I doe indeed confesse, I have received from you (such was your gentleness) two letters at sundry times; but yet at such time as I could not be suffered to writ unto you againe, or if I might, yet was I in doubt how my letters might safely come unto your hands. But now my deare brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have but superficiallie seene, that we throughly agree and wholly consent togither in those things which are the grounds & substantial points of our Religion, against the which the worlde so furiously rageth in these our daies, howsoever in time past in certain by matters & circumstances of religion, your wisedome and my simplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his owne sense and judgment: now, I say, bee you assured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ, I love you in the truth, and for the truthes sake, which abideth in us, and as I am perswaded, shal by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore.

"And because the world, as I perceive brother ceaseth not to play his pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible force & power, *Exalting high things against the knowledge of God*: let us joine handes togither in Christ, and if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth let us shake those *high altitudes, not with carnall, but with spirituall*

uall weapons: and withall brother, let us prepare our selves to the day of our dissolution, by the which after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall triumph togither with him in eternall glory.

" I pray you brother salute in my name your reverend fellow prisoner and venerable father, D. C.[9] by whom since the first day that I heard of his most godly and fatherly constancie, in confessing the truth of the gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integritie and uprightnesse of that man, his gravitie and innocencie all England I thinke hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, which in such aboundance of iniquity and decay of al godliness, hath given unto us in this reverend old age, such a witnesse for the trueth of his gospell. Miserable and hard hearted is he, whom the godlinesse, and constant confession of so worthy, so grave, and so innocent a man, will not moove to acknowledge & confesse the truth of God.

" I doe not now brother require you to write any thing to me againe: for I stand much in feare least your letters should be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Neverthelesse know you, that it shall be to me great joy to heare of your constancie and fortitude in the Lords quarrell. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twise, as I could, sent unto you my minde touching the matter which in your letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, bro-

[9] *Venerable father D. C.*] Bishop Burnet understands these initials to apply to Archbishop Cranmer. *Hist. of Reformat.* Vol. II. p. 283. edit. 4. But the person intended was undoubtedly Dr. Crome, as appears by Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 46. A. D. 1563. See also Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor.* Vol. III. p. 106. 208.

ther,

ther, be otherwise perswaded: I see me thinkes so many perils, whereby I am earnestly mooved to counsell you not to hasten the publishing of your workes, especially under the the title of your own name. For I feare greatly least by this occasion both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all thinges taken away from the rest of the prisoners, whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may bee able to doe good to many. Farewell in the Lord my most deare brother: and if there be any moe in prison with you for Christs cause, I beseech you, as you may, salute them in my name. To whose praiers I doe most humbly and hartily commend my selfe and my fellow prisoners and concaptives in the Lord; and yet once againe, and for ever in Christ, my most deare brother, farewell.

N. Ridley."

M. Hooper after all these tumults and vexations susteined about his investing and priestly vestures, at length entring into his diocesse, did there imploy his time which the Lord lent him under K. Edwards raigne, with such diligence, as may bee a spectacle to all Bishops, which shall ever hereafter succeed him, not onely in that place, but in whatsoever diocesse through the whole realme of England. So carefull was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor wais unsought, howe to traine up the flocke of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. Other men commonly are woont for lucre or promotions sake, to aspire to Bishoprickes, some hunting for them, and some purchasing or buying them, as men use to purchase Lordships, and when they have them, are loth to leave them,

and

and thereupon also loth to commit that thing by worldly lawes, whereby to lose them.

To this sort of men M. Hooper was cleane contrarie; who abhorred nothing more then gaine, labouring alwaies to save and preserve the soules of his flocke. Who being Bishop of two Diocesses, so ruled and guided either of them, and both togither, as though he had in charge but one family. No father in his houshold, no gardiner in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, then hee in his Dioces amongst his flocke, going about his townes and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there.

That time that hee had to spare from preaching, he bestowed either in hearing publicke causes, or else in private study, praier, and visiting of schooles. With his continuall doctrine, hee adjoined due and discreet correction, not so much severe to any, as to them which for aboundance of riches, & wealthy state, thought they might do what they listed. And doubtlesse he spared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all men, as well rich as poore, to the great shame of no small number of men nowe a daies. Whereof many wee doe see so addicted to the pleasing of great and rich men, that in the meane time they have no regard to the meaner sort of poore people, whom Christ hath bought as dearely as the other.

But now againe wee will returne our talke to maister Hooper, all whose life was such, that to the church & all churchmen, it might be a light and example, to the rest a perpetual lesson and Sermon. Finally, how vertuous and good a Bishop hee was, yee may conceive and know evidently by this; that even as he was hated of none but of them which were evill, so yet the worst of them

them all could not reproove his life in any one jot.

I have now declared his usage and behaviour *abroad* in the publike affairs of the Church: and certainly there appeared in him *at home* no lesse example of a worthy prelates life. For although he bestowed and converted the most part of his care upon the publike flocke and congregation of Christ, for the which also he spent his bloud; yet neverthelsse there lacked no provision in him, for to bring up his owne children in learning and good maners: in so much that yee could not discerne whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or for his bishoplike doings abroad. For every where he kept one religion in one uniforme doctrine and integritie. So that if you entred into the Bishops Palace, you would suppose to have entered into some Church or temple. In every corner therof, there was some smell of vertue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of holy scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly roystring or idlenesse: no pompe at all, no dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard.

As for the revenues of both his bishoprickes, although they did not greatly exceede, as the matter was handled [1], yet if any thing surmounted thereof, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitalitie. Twise I was, as I remember, in his house in Worcester; where in his common hall I sawe a table spread with good store of meate, and beset full of beggers and poore folke: and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their Lord and maisters manner was, to

[1] *As the matter was handled.*] *Strype's Ecclesiast. Memor.* Vol. II. p. 355. 357.

have

have customably to dinner a certaine number of poore folke of the said citie by course, who were served by foure at a messe, with whole and wholesome meats: and when they were served (being afore examined by him or his deputies of the Lords praier, the articles of their faith, and ten commandements) then hee himselfe sate downe to dinner, and not before.

After this sort and maner maister Hooper executed the office of a most carefull and vigilant pastor, by the space of two yeares and more, so long as the state of Religion in King Edwards time did safely flourish and take place: and would God that all other Bishops would use the like diligence, care, and observance in their function.

After this, king Edward beeing dead, and Mary being crowned Queene of England, religion beeing subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first [2] that was sent for by a pursivant to be at London, and that for two causes.

"First, to answere to doctor Heath then appointed Bishop of that Dioces, who was before in King Edwardes daies deprived thereof for papistry.

"Secondarily, to render account to doctour Boner Bishop of London, for that he in King Edwards time was one of his accusers, in that hee shewed himselfe not conformable to such ordinances as were prescribed to him by the king & his

[2] *Was one of the first.*] Two several Letters were dispatched, Aug. 22. 1553, to Miles Coverdale and John Hooper clerks, for their immediate repair to the Court, there to attend before the Lords of Council: and on the 29th of that month he made his first personal appearance before the Council at Richmond. See Journal of Proceedings in the Privy Council, in Haynes's *State Papers*, *p.* 173, 177. On the first of Sept. 1553, he was comitted to the Fleet prison. Ibid. p. 178.

councell,

councell, openly at Paules crosse." And although the said maister Hooper was not ignorant of the evils that should happen towards him (for he was admonished by certaine of his friends to get him away and shift for himselfe) yet hee would not prevent them, but tarried still, saying; "once I did flee and tooke me to my feete, but now, because I am called to this place and vocation, I am throughly perswaded to tarie, and to live and die with my sheepe."

And when, at the day of his appearance, which was the first of September, he was come to London, before he could come to the aforesaid doctor Heath and Boner, he was intercepted and commanded violently against his will to appeare before the Queene and hir councell, to answer to certaine bondes and obligations, wherein they said hee was bound unto hir. And when he came before them, Winchester by and by received him very opprobriouslie, and railing and rating of him, accused him of religion. Hee againe freely and boldly tolde his tale, and purged himselfe. But in fine it came to this conclusion, that by them he was commanded to ward (it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certaine sums of money, for the which hee was indebted to the Queene, and not for religion). This, howe false and untrue it was, shall hereafter in his place more plainly appeare.

The next yeare, being 1554. the 19. of March, he was called againe to appeare before Winchester and other the queens commissioners: where, what for the bishop, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to pleade his cause, hee was deprived of his bishoprickes. Which how, and in what order it was done, here now followeth to be seen by the testimony and report of one,

which beeing present at the doing, committed the same to writing.

A Letter or Report of a certaine godly Man, declaring the Order of M. Hoopers Deprivation from his Bishopricks, An. 1554. March. 19.

" Forsomuch as a rumor is spread abroad of the talke had at my Lord Chancellours, betweene him with other commissioners there appointed, & M. Hooper, cleane contrary to the verity & truth thereof indeede, and therefore to be judged rather to be risen of malice, for the discrediting of the truth by false suggestions & evill reports, than otherwise: I thought it my duty, being present thereat my selfe, in writing to set forth the whole effect of the same: partly that the verity thereof may be known to the doubtfull people, & partly also to advertise them, how uncharitably M. Hooper was handled at their hands, which with all humilitie used himselfe towardes them, desiring that with patience he might have beene permitted to speake; assuring all men, that where I stoode in a mammering and doubt, which of these two religions to have creditted, either that set forth by the kings majesty, that dead is, or els that now maintained by the Queenes majesty, their unreverend behaviour towards M. Hooper, doth moove me the rather to credit his doctrine, then that which they with railing and cruell words defended, considering that Christ was so handled before. And that this which I have written here, was the effect of their talk, as I acknowledge it to be true my selfe, so I appeale to all the hearers consciences, that there were present, (so they put affection away) for the witnesse of the same.

The Bishops of Winchester, of London, of Duresme, of Landaffe, of Chichester, sate as Commissioners.

At M. Hoopers comming in, the Lord Chancellor asked whether he was married.

Hooper. "Yea my Lord, and will not bee unmarried, till death unmarrie me."

Duresme. "That is matter enough to deprive you."

Hooper. "That it is not, my Lord, except ye do against the law."

The matter concerning marriage, was no more talked of then, for a great space: but as well the Commissioners, as such as stood by, began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gesture as was unseemely for the place, and for such a matter. The bishop of Chichester, D. Day, called M. Hooper hypocrite, with vehement wordes, and scornefull countenance. B. Tonstall called him beast: so did Smith one of the clerks of the councell, and divers other that stood by. At length the Bishop of Winchester said, that all men might live chaste that would, and brought in this text: *Castraverunt se propter regnum cælorum.* (Mat. 19).

M. Hooper said, that text prooved not that all men could live chaste, but such only to whom it was given: and reade that which goeth before in the text. But there was a clamour and cry mocking and scorning, with calling him beast, that the text could not bee examined. Then maister Hooper said, that it did appeare by the olde Canons that marriage was not forbidden unto Priests, and named the Decrees. But the bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely the

Clementines, or the Extravagantes. But Bishop Hooper said, that booke was not it which he named.

Then cried out the Bishop Winchester, and said "You shal not have any other, until ye be judged by this." And then began such a noise, tumulte, and speaking togither of a great many that favoured not the cause, that nothing was done ne spoken orderly, nor charitably. Afterwards Judge Morgan began to raile at M. Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foule words of his doing at Gloucester, in punishing of men, and said there was never such a tyrant as hee was. After that, Doctor Day bishop of Chichester said, that the councell of Ancyra, which was before the councell of Nice, was against the marriage of Priests.

Then cried out my Lord Chancellor, and many with him, that M. Hooper had never read the councels.

"Yes my Lord, quoth M. Hooper, and my Lord of Chichester doctor Day knoweth, that the great Councell of Nice, by the meanes of one Paphnutius, decreed that no minister should be separated from his wife." But such clamors and cries were used, that the councell of Nice was not seene.

After this long brutish talke, Tonstall Bishop of Duresme, asked M. Hooper whether he beeleved the corporall presence in the sacrament. And maister Hooper said plainly that there was none such, neither did he beleeve any such thing.

Then would the Bishop of Duresme have read out of a booke, for his purpose belike (what booke it was, I cannot tell): but there was such a noise and confuse talke on every side, that hee did not read it. Then asked Winchester of M. Hooper, what authority mooved him not to beleeve the corporall

porall presence? He said, the authoritie of God's word, and alledged this text; *Whom heaven must hold untill the latter day.*

Then the bishop of Winchester would have made that text to have served nothing for his purpose, and he said, he might be in heaven, and in the sacrament also.

M. Hooper would have said more to have opened the text, but all men that stood next about the bishop, allowed so his saying with clamours and cries, that M. Hooper was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Whereupon they bade the Notaries write that he was maried, and sayd, that hee would not goe from his Wife; and that he beleeved not the corporal presence in the Sacrament: wherefore he was worthy to be deprived[3] from his Bishopricke.

This is the truth of the matter (as farre as I can truly remember) of the confuse and troblesom talk that was between them, and except it were hasty and uncharitable words, this is the whole matter of their talk at that time."

[3] *Worthy to be deprived.*] "The Register of Canterbury testifieth, that on the 20th of March 1554, the Bishops of Winchester, London, Chichester and Durham, by virtue of the Queen's commission directed to them, pronounced the sentence of deprivation upon John Taylor Bishop of Lincoln, "Ob nullitatem consecrationis ejus, et defectum tituli sui quem habuit a rege Edvardo sexto per literas patentes, cum hac clausula *dum bene se gesserit*;" upon John Hooper bishop of Worcester and Glocester, "propter conjugium et alia mala merita, et vitosum titulum ut supra," upon John Harlowe, bishop of Hereford, "propter conjugium et hæresin ut supra, &c." Harmer's *Specimen of Errors.* p. 133.

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The true Report of M. Hoopers Entertainment in the Fleet, written with his owne Hand, the Seventh of January. 1555.

" The first of September, 1553. I was committed unto the Fleet, from Richmond, to have the libertie of the prison: and within sixe daies after, I paide for my libertie five pounds sterling to the Warden for fees: who immediatly upon the payment therof, complained unto Steven Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and so was I committed to close prison one quarter of a yeare, in the Tower chamber of the Fleet, and used very extreamly. Then by the meanes of a good Gentlewoman, I had liberty to come downe to dinner and supper, not suffered to speake with any of my friends; but as soone as dinner and supper was done, to repaire to my chamber againe. Notwithstanding whilst I came downe thus to dinner and supper, the Warden and his wife picked quarels with mee, and complayned untruly of me, to their great friend the Bishop of Winchester.

" After one quarter of a yeer and somewhat more, Babington the Warden and his wife fell out with mee for the wicked Masse: and thereupon the Warden resorted to the Bishop of Winchester, and obtained to put me into the wardes, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of strawe, and a rotten covering, with a tike and a fewe feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, untill by Gods meanes good people sent me bedding to lie in. Of the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side the town

town ditch, so that the stinch of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.

During which time I have been sick: and the doores, barres, haspes, and chaines being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called and cried for help. But the Warden when he hath knowne mee many times readie to die, and when the poore men of the wardes have called to help me, hath commanded the dores to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at mee, saying; "let him alone, it were a good riddance of him." And amongst manie other times, he did thus the 18. of October, 1553, as many can witnes.

I paied alwaies like a Baron to the said Warden, as well in fees as for my boord, which was twenty shillings a weeke, besides my mans table, untill I was wrongfully deprived of my Bishopricke, and since that time I have paied him as the best gentleman doth in his house: yet hath he used me worse and more vilely than the veriest slave that ever came to the hall Commons.

The sayd Warden hath also imprisoned my man William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could finde none, but onely a little remembrance of good peoples names, that gave me their almes to relieve me in prison: and to undoe them also, the Warden delivered the same bill unto the said Steven Gardiner, Gods enemie and mine.

I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteene moneths, my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from mee, the Queene owing me by just account eighty pounds or more. Shee hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to finde me; neither is there suffered any to come at me, whereby I might have reliefe. I am with a wicked man and woman,

woman, so that I see no remedie (saving Gods helpe) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgement But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it by life or death."

Thus much wrote he himselfe of this matter.

Another Examination of M. Hooper.

The xxii. of Januarie following, (1555) Babington the Warden of the Fleete was commanded to bring Maister Hooper before the Bishop of Winchester, with other Bishops and Commissioners at the said Winchesters house at S. Mary Overies, where as in effect thus much was done.

The Bishop of Winchester in the name of himselfe and the rest, mooved Maister Hooper earnestly to forsake the evill and corrupt doctrine (as hee tearmed it) preached in the dayes of King Edward the sixt, and to returne to the unitie of the Catholicke Church, and to acknowledge the popes holinesse to be head of the same church, according to the determination of the whole Parliament, promising, that as he himselfe, with other his brethren, had received the Popes blessing, and the Queenes mercy, even so mercy was readie to bee shewed to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the popes holinesse.

M. Hooper aunswered: that for as much as the pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christs Church, much lesse to be head thereof: wherefore hee would in no wise condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction, neither esteemed he the church, whereof they call him head, to be the Catholicke Church of Christ: for the

the church onely heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and flieth the straungers. Howbeit (sayth he) if in any point to me unknowen, I have offended the Queenes Majestie, I shall most humbly submit my selfe to her mercy, if mercy may bee had with safetie of conscience, and without the displeasure of God.

Aunswere was made, that the Queene would shewe no mercie to the Popes enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to bring him to the Fleete againe: who did so, and shifted him from his former chamber into another, neere unto the Wardens own chamber, where he remained six daies: and in the meane time, his former chamber was searched by Doctor Martin and others, for writings and bookes, which M. Hooper was thought to have made, but none was found.

Here followeth another Examination of M. Hooper.

The 28th. of January, Winchester and other the Commissioners, sate in judgement at S. Mary Overies, wheras M. Hooper appeared before them at afternoone againe; and there after much reasoning and disputation[4] to and fro, he was commaunded aside, till Maister Rogers (which was then come) had beene likewise examined. Examinations beeing ended, the two Sheriffes of London were commanded about foure of the clocke, to carrie them to the Counter in Southwark, there to remaine till

[4] *Much reasoning and disputation.*] Some further account of this and the next day's proceedings may be found in Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials* Vol. III. p. 180, 181.

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the morrow at nine a clocke, to see whether they would relent and come home againe to their Catholick church. So maister Hooper went before with one of the Sheriffes, and maister Rogers came after with the other; and being out of the Church doore, Maister Hooper looked backe, and stayed a little till maister Rogers drewe neere, unto whome he said; "Come brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to frie these fagots?" "Yea Sir," said Maister Rogers, "by Gods grace." "Doubt not," sayde Master Hooper, "but God will give strength." So going forwards, there was such a prease of people in the streets, which rejoiced at their constancie, that they had much adoe to passe.

By the way the Sheriffe sayd to maister Hooper, "I wonder that ye were so hastie and quicke with my Lord Chancellour, and did use no more patience:" Hee answered, "Maister Sheriffe, I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earnest in my masters cause, and it standeth mee so in hand, for it goeth upon life and death: not the life and death of this world onely, but also of the world to come." Then were they committed to the keeper of the Counter, and appointed to severall chambers, with commandement that they should not be suffered to speake one with another, neither yet any other permitted to come at them that night.

Upon the next day following, the 29 of January, at the houre appointed they were brought againe by the Sheriffes, before the sayde Bishop and Commissioners in the Church, where they were the daie before. And after long and earnest talke, when they perceived that Maister Hooper would by no meanes condescend unto them, they condemned him to bee degraded, and read unto him his condemnation.

demnation[5]. That done, maister Rogers was brought before them, and in like manner intreated, and so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two Sheriffes of London, who were willed to carrie them to the Clinke, a prison not farre from the Bishop of Winchesters house, and there to remaine till night.

When it was dark, maister Hooper was led by one of the Sheriffes, with many bils and weapons, first through the Bisbop of Winchesters house, and so over London Bridge, thorough the Citie to Newgate. And by the way some of the Sergeants were willed to goe before, and put out the Costerd-mongers candles, who use to sit with lights in the streets: eyther fearing of likelihood that the people would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had seene him goe to that prison; or else beeing burdened with an evill conscience they thought darkenesse to be a most fit season for such a businesse.

But notwithstanding this devise, the people having some foreknowledge of his comming, many of them came forth of their dores with lights and saluted him, praysing God for his constancie in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end. Master Hooper passed by, and required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him,

[5] *His condemnation.*] A copy of this sentence of condemnation is preserved by Strype in his *Eccles Memor.* Vol. III. p. 80, 81. He was condemned upon *three* separate points: first, for maintaining the lawfulness of the marriages of the clergy, both *secular* and *religious;* secondly, for his doctrine respecting divorce; and thirdly, for denying the carnal presence of Christ in the Eucharist. See also Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.* Vol. III. p. 246—248. Appendix.

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and so went through Cheapeside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner, to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained sixe daies, no bodie being permitted to come to him, or to talke with him, saving his keepers, and such as should be appointed thereto.

During this time, Boner bishop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedsey, and Harpsfielde, &c. resorted divers times unto him, to assay if by any meanes they could perswade him to relent, and become a member of their Antichristian church. All the waies they could devise, they attempted. For besides the disputations and allegations of testimonies of the Scriptures, and of auncient writers wrested to a wrong sense, according to their accustomed maner, they used also all outwarde gentlenesse and significations of friendship, with manie great profers and promises of worldlie commodities, not omitting also most grievous threatnings, if with gentlenesse they could not prevaile; but they found him alwaies one man, stedfast and immoveable. When they perceived that they coulde by no meanes reclaime him to their purpose, with such perswasions and offers as they used for his conversion, then went they about by false rumors and reports of recantations (for it is well knowen, that they and their servants did spread it first abroade) to bring him and the doctrine of Christ which hee professed, out of credite with the people. So the brute being a little spread abroade, and beleeved of some of the weaker sort, by reason of the often resort of the Bishop of London and other, it increased more, and at the last came to M. Hoopers eares. Wherwith he was not a little grieved, that the people should give so light credite unto false rumours, having so simple a ground;

ground; as it may appeare by a letter which hee wrote upon that occasion, the copy wherof followeth.

A Letter of M: Hooper for the stopping of certaine false Rumours spread a broad of his Recantation.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ bee with all them that unfainedly looke for the comming of our Saviour Christ. Amen.

"Deare brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow prisoners for the cause of Gods Gospell: I do much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your constancie and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I wish continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoice in *your* faith and constancie in afflictions that bee in prison, even so doe I mourne and lament to heare of our deere brethren that yet have not felt such daungers for Gods truth, as we have, and do feele, and be daily like to suffer more, yea, the very extreame and vile death of the fire.

Yet such is the report abroade (as I am credibly informed) that I John Hooper a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now after sentence of death (beeing in Newgate prisoner, and looking daily for execution) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talke ariseth of this, that the Bishop of London and his chaplaines resort unto mee. Doubtlesse, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would thinke, that in case I did refuse to talke with them, they might have just occasion to say, that I were unlearned, and durst not speake with learned men; or else proud and disdainfull to speak with them.

them. Therefore to avoide just suspition of both, I have and doe daily speake with them when they come, not doubting but that they report that I am neyther proude, nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to doe as I doe in this point. For I feare not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto mee; praying you to make true report of the same, as occasion shall serve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their comming.

"Therefore, yee that may send to the weake brethren, praie them that they trouble mee not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the world, and suffered great paines and imprisonment, and I thanke God I am as ready to suffer death, as a mortall man may bee. It were better for them to praie for us, than to credite or report such rumors that be untrue. We have enemies enow of such as know not God truely. But yet the false report of weake brethren is a double crosse. I wish you eternall salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continuall prayer, that hee which hath begun in us, may continue it to the end.

"I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen heretofore; and hereafter shortly will confirme the same by Gods grace with my bloud. Forth of Newgate the second of February, an. 1555.

Your brother in Christ,
John Hooper."

Upon Munday morning the Bishop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded maister Hooper.

But first here is to be noted, that they degrading this

this blessed Bishop did not proceede against him as against a bishop, but as only against a Priest[6], as they termed him: for such as he was, these Baalamites accounted for no Bishop.

Heere followeth the Forme and Manner used in the degrading of B. Hooper.

The fourth day of February, the yeare above mentioned, in the Chappell in Newgate, the Bishop of London there sitting with his Notarie and certaine other witnesses, came Alexander Andrew the Gaoler, bringing with him M. Hooper and M. Rogers, being condemned before by the Chauncellor: where the sayd Bishop of London, at the request of the aforesaid Winchester, proceeded to the degradation of the parties above mentioned, maister Hooper and maister Rogers, after this forme and manner. First, hee put upon them all the vestures and ornaments belonging to a Priest, with all other things to the same order appertaining, as though (being revested) they should solemnly execute in their office. Thus they being apparelled and invested, the Bishop beginneth to plucke off, first the uttermost vesture, and so by degree and order comming downe to the lowest vesture, which

[6] *But as only against a Priest.*] "When they proceeded to burn them that were in Orders, they went upon the old maxim, that Orders given in schism were not valid. So they did not esteem Hooper nor Ridley Bishops, and therefore only degraded them from Priesthood; though they had been ordained by their own forms, saving only the oath to the Pope. But for those who were ordained by the new book," (of ordination made in the reign of King Edward) "they did not at all degrade them, supposing now they had no true orders by it." Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.* Vol. II. p. 269. edit. 4.

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they had onely in taking Bennet and Collet[7]: and so being stript and deposed, hee deprived them of all order, benefite and priviledge belonging to the Clergy: and consequently, that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the said parties so degraded, to bee given personally to the secular power, as the Sheriffes, being for that yeare, M. Davy Woodrofe, and M. William Chester: who receiving first the sayd M. Rogers at the hands of the Bishop, had him away with them, bringing him to the place of execution where he suffered. The witnesses there present, were maister Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, Robert Cosin, and Robert Willerton, Canons of Paules, Thomas Mountague, and George Howe clerkes, Tristram Swadocke, and Richard Climney Sumner, &c.

The same Munday at night being the 4. of Februarie, his keeper gave him an inkeling that he should be sent to Glocester to suffer death, whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praising God that he saw it good to send him amongst the people, over whom hee was pastor, there to confirme with his death the truth which he had before taught them: not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to performe the same to his glorie: and immediately hee sent to his servants house for his bootes, spurres, and cloke, that he might be in a readinesse to ride when hee should be called.

The next daie following about foure of the clocke in the morning before day, the Keeper with others came to him and searched him, and the bed wherein

7 *Bennet and Collet.*] These were of the lowest offices in the Church. The degradation from the latter (the acolythship) consisted in taking away the "cruet and candlestick;" and from the former, in taking away the surplice and first tonsure." See Fox's *Acts*. p. 666.

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he lay, to see if he had written any thing; and then he was led by the Sheriffes of London and other their officers forth of Newgate, to a place appointed not farre from S. Dunstans Church in Fleetstreete, where sixe of the Queenes Gard were appointed to receive him, and to carie him to Glocester, there to be delivered unto the Sheriffe, who with the L. Shandoys, M. Wickes, and other Commissioners, were appointed to see execution done. The which Gard brought him to the Angell, where he brake his fast with them, eating his meate at that time more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About the breake of the day he went to horse, and lept cheerefully on horseback without helpe, having a hood upon his head under his hat that he should not be known, and so tooke his journey joyfully towards Glocester, and alwaies by the way the Gard learned of him where he was accustomed to bait or lodge, and ever caried him to another Inne.

Upon the Thursday following, he came to a towne in his Dioces called Ciceter, fifteen miles from Glocester, about eleven of the clocke, and there dyned at a womans house which had alwaies hated the truth and spoken all evill she could of M. Hooper. This woman perceiving the cause of his comming, shewed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with teares, confessing that she before had often reported, that if he were put to the triall, he would not stand to his doctrine.

After dinner hee rode forwardes, and came to Glocester about five of the clocke, and a mile without the towne was much people assembled which cried and lamented his estate: in so much that one of the Gard rode post into the towne, to require ayde of the Maior and Sheriffes, fearing least he

should have beene taken from them. The Officers and their retinue repaired to the Gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keepe their houses, but there was no man that once gave any signification of any such rescue or violence. So was hee lodged at one Ingrams house in Glocester, and that night (as he had done al the way) he did eate his meate quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by them of the Gard and others. After his first sleepe he continued all that night in praier untill the morning, and then he desired that he might go into the next chamber (for the Gard were also in the chamber where he laie) that there beeing solitarie, hee might pray and talke with God: so that all the day, saving a little at meat, and when hee talked at any time with such as the Gard licenced to speake with him, he bestowed in prayer.

Amongst other that spake with him, sir Anthony Kingston knight, was one. Who seeming in times past his verie friend, was then appointed by the Queenes letters, to be one of the Commissioners, to see execution done upon him. Maister Kingston beeing brought into the chamber, found him at his prayers: and as soone as he saw M. Hooper, he burst forth in teares. Maister Hooper, at the first blush knew him not. Then said Master Kingston, "Why my Lord, doe ye not knowe me an olde friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?"

"Yes M. Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do prayse God for the same."

"But I am sory to see you in this case: for as I understand you be come hither to die. But (alas) consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore seeing life may be had, desire to live: for life hereafter may do good."

"Indeed it is true M. Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have heeretofore taught amongst you in this Diocesse, and else where; and I thank you for your friendly counsaile, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is master Kingston that death is bitter, and life is sweete: but (alas) consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and feare of the other, I do not so much regarde this death, nor esteeme this life, but have setled my selfe through the strength of Gods holy spirit, patiently to passe through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of his word, desiring you and others in the meane time, to commend me to Gods mercy in your prayers."

"Well my Lord, then I perceive there is no remedie, and therefore I will take my leave of you: and I thank God that ever I knew you, for God did appoint you to call me being a lost childe: and by your good instructions, where before I was both an adulterer[s] and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same."

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[s] *Both an adulterer.*] This passage is illustrated by an extract, published by Bishop Burnet in his third Volume, p. 209; from a letter written from Oxford by one John ab Ulmis, a Swiss, to Bullinger, Dec. 4th. 1552. "In the same Letter (says the Historian) he gives an instance of Hooper's impartial zeal in the discharge of his function in his diocese: that while he was censuring some inferior people, for their scandalous life, one said to him, "We poor people must do penance for these things, while great and rich men, as guilty as we, are overlooked." Upon that, he said, "Name any person, how great soever, that was guilty of adultery, so that it could be

"If you have had the grace so to do, I do highly prayse God for it: and if you have not, I pray God ye may have, and that you may continually live in his feare." After these and manie other words, the one tooke leave of the other, M. Kingston with bitter teares, M. Hooper with teares also trickling downe his cheekes. At which departure M. Hooper told him, that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

The same day in the after noone, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the Gard, obtained licence to be brought unto M. Hoopers speech. The same boy not long afore had suffered imprisonment at Glocester for confessing of the truth. Maister Hooper after he had examined him of his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him stedfastly, and (the water appearing in his

proved against him, and he would leave himself in their hands, to be used by them as they pleased, if he did not proceed equally against all." So, in a few days, Sir Anthony Kingston, a great man in those parts, being accused of adultery, he cited him into his Court. He, for some time, refused to appear. At last he came; and when the Bishop was charging his sin severely upon him, he gave him very foul language, and at last fell to beat him. This was presently followed so severely, that he was fined in five hundred pounds, and forced to submit to do penance.

This raised the Bishop's character, as it contributed not a little to establish his authority in his Diocese. He set himself to do his duty there with so much zeal, that his wife, who was a German, wrote to Bullinger, praying him to write to her Husband, to take a little more care of himself: for he preached commonly thrice, sometimes four times in one day. The crowds of those who came constantly to hear him, made him look upon them, as persons that were hungring for the word of life. So she apprehending, that his zeal made him labour beyond his strength, studied to get others to put some stop to that, which, it seems, she could not prevail with him so far as to restrain."

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eyes) sayde unto him: "Ah poore boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what consideration hee best knoweth: but hee hath given thee an other sight much more precious: for he hath endued thy soule with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace[9] continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not that sight, for then shouldest thou bee blinde both in bodie and soule."

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very Papist and a wicked man, which appeared to bee sory for maister Hoopers trouble, saying: "Sir, I am sory to see you thus." "To see me? Why, said he, art thou sory?" "To see you," saith the other, "in this case. For I heare say you are come hither to die, for the which I am sory." "Be sory for thy selfe man," sayd M. Hooper, "and lament thine owne wickednesse: for I am well, I thank God, and death to me for Christs sake is welcome."

The same night he was committed by the Gard, their commission being then expired, unto the custodie of the Sheriffes of Gloucester. The name of the one was Jenkins, the other Bond, who with the Maior and Aldermen repaired to maister Hoopers lodging, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whome Hooper spake on this manner. "Maister Maior, I give most heartie thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take

[9] *God give thee grace.*] The Bishop's prayer was granted. For this poor blind boy, whose name was Thomas Drowry, was afterwards himself a martyr. He was burnt at Gloucester, chiefly for denying the doctrine of Transubstantiation, about the fifth of May 1556. His story is given in Fox's *Acts*. p. 1735.

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mee a prisoner and a condemned man by the hand: whereby, to my rejoycing, it is some deale apparant that your olde love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished: and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past, are not utterly forgotten, when I was here by the godly King that dead is, appointed to bee your Bishop and Pastor. For the which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresie, as many other men doe, I am sent hither (as I am sure you knowe) by the Queenes commandement, to die; and am come where I taught it, to confirme it with my bloud. And now Maister Sheriffes, I understand by these good men, and my verie friends," (meaning the Gard) " at whose hands I have found so much favour and gentlenesse by the way hitherward, as a prisoner could reasonably require (for the which also I most heartily thanke them) that I am committed to your custodie, as unto them that must see mee brought to morrow to the place of execution. My request therefore to you shall be onely, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end, and in the meane time I will bee as obedient unto you, as your selves would wish. If you thinke I doe amisse in anie thing, holde up your finger, and I have done. For I am not come hither as one inforced or compelled to die, for it is well knowen, I might have had my life with worldly gaine: but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than to consent to the wicked papisticall religion of the Bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the Magistrates in England, to Gods high displeasure and dishonour: and I trust by Gods grace to morrow to die a faithfull servant of God, and a true obedient subjecte to the Queene."

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These and such like words in effecte used M. Hooper to the Maior, Sheriffes and Aldermen, wherat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two Sheriffes went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common Gaole of the towne called Northgate, if the Gard had not made earnest intercession for him: who declared at large how quietly, mildely, and patiently hee had behaved himselfe in the way, adding thereto, that any child might keepe him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take paines to watch with him, than that hee should bee sent to the common prison. So it was determined at the length he should still remaine in Robert Ingram's house, and the Sheriffes and the Sergeants and other Officers did appoint to watch with him that night themselves. His desire was that he might goe to bed that night betimes, saying, that he had many things to remember: and so did at five of the clocke, and slept one sleepe soundly, and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he gate up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitarie till the houre of execution.

About eight of the clock came Sir John Bridges, L. Shandoys, with a great band of men, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir Edmund Bridges, and other Commissioners appointed to see execution done. At nine of the clocke M. Hooper was willed to prepare himselfe to be in a readinesse, for the time was at hand. Immediately hee was brought downe from his chamber by the Sheriffs, who were accompanied with bils, gleives, and weapons. When he sawe the multitude of weapons, hee spake to the Sheriffes on this wise: "Maister Sheriffes," (sayd he)

he) "I am no traytor[1], neither needed you to have made such a businesse to bring me to the place where I must suffer: for if ye had willed me,

[1] *I am no traytor.*] It may be presumed that in this and a similar expression above, Hooper has reference to a very false and scandalous report which his enemies had propagated of his disloyalty, and that he had written a letter of encouragement to certain persons in prison for cursing Queen Mary. Against this calumny he vindicated himself in an Apology, which was afterwards, in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, printed in London by John Tisdale. From this Apology it appears that the only foundation for the charge was that he had written a letter, not to the persons alleged, but to some other individuals, exhorting them to persevere in their prayers which they made together in the vulgar tongue. "There (says he) they gave God thankes for that they had receaved at his handes, and aſked of him the thinges that they lacked, and prayed also for the Queene and the magistrates... Nowe doo the wicked papistes fayne matter, and chaunge prayer, wherein I requyred them to persevere for the Quene, in to cursing the Quene." Hooper's *Apology*. Signat. A 7. A. D. 1562. In the course of the same tract he boldly asserts his unimpeachable loyalty and fidelity, and appeals to the services which he had rendered to the Queen when she stood in extreme need of them. "I have bene alwayes a true manne to al the estates of thys realme. I wyll stande with the lawe in that pointe and reprove myne accusers, whatsover they be. As for my truthe and loyaltye to the Quenes hyghnesse, the tyme of her moste dangerouse estate can testifye wythe me, that when there was both commandments and commissions out against her, whereby she was in the sighte of the worlde the more in daunger, and lesse lyke to come to the crowne; yet when she was at the worste, I rode myselfe from place to place (as it is well knowen) to wyn and stay the people for her party. And whereas another was proclaymed, I preferred her notwithstandynge the proclamations. And to helpe her as muche as I coulde, when her highnesse was in trouble, I sente horses out of both shyres, Gloucestershyre, and Worcestershyre to serve her in her great daunger, as Syr John Talbot Knyghte, and William Ligon Esquier can testify, the one dwellynge in the one shyre, and the other in the other." Ibid. signat. A. 8.

I would

I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all." Afterwarde looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, being by estimation to the number of seven thousand (for it was market day, and many also came to see his behaviour towards death) he spake unto those that were about him, saying, "Alas, why bee these people assembled & come together? Peradventure they thinke to heare some thing of me now, as they have in times past, but alas speech is prohibited me[z]. Notwithstanding the cause of my death is well knowne unto them. When I was appointed here to be their Pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine, and that out of the word of God. Because I wil not now account the same to be heresie and untruth, this kinde of death is prepared for me."

So he went forward led between the two Sheriffes, (as it were a Lambe to the place of slaughter) in a gowne of his Hosts, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to stay himselfe withall. For the greefe of the Sciatica, which he had taken in

[z] *Speech is prohibited me.*] This is confirmed by a passage of the Queen's own Letter ordering the manner of Hooper's execution. "And forasmuche also" (says her Majesty) "as the said Hooper is, as Heretiques be, a vain-glorious person, and delyteth in his tongue, and having liberty may use his sayd tongue to persuade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the myserable opinion that he hath sowen among them; our pleasure is therefore, and we require you take order, that the said Hooper be neither at the tyme of his execution, nor in going to the place thereof, suffered to speak at large; but thither to be ledde quietly and in sylence, for eschuyng of further infection, and such inconvenyence as may otherwise ensue in this parte." Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.* Vol. III. p. 249. Appendix.

The same prohibition was very usual upon other simllar occasions. See above in the Life of Rogers, p. 420. Also Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor.* Vol. III. p. 185.

prison,

prison, caused him something to halt. All the way, being straitlie charged not to speake, hee could not bee perceived once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way, which mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eies towards heaven, and looke verie cheerefullie uppon such as hee knewe: and he was never knowne during the time of his being amongst them, to looke with so cheerefull and ruddish a countenance as he did at that present.. When he came to the place appointed where he should die, smilinglie he beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was neere unto the great Elme tree over against the Colledge of Priests, where he was woont to preach. The place round about the houses, and the boughes of the tree were replenished with people, and in the chamber over the Colledge gate stood the Priests of the Colledge. Then kneeled hee downe (for asmuch as hee could not be suffered to speake unto the people) to praier, and beckned unto one sixe or seven times whom he knew well, to heare the saide praier, to make report thereof in time to come (powring teares uppon his shoulders and in his bosome) who gave attentive eares unto the same: the which prayer he made upon the whole Creed, wherin he continued for the space of halfe an hour. Now after hee was somewhat entred into his prayer, a boxe was brought and laide before him upon a stoole, with his pardon [3] (or at the least wise it was fained to be his pardon) from the Queene, if he would turne. At the sight wherof he cried: "If you love my

[3] *With his pardon.*] The constancy of these blessed martyrs was continually sollicited by applications of this nature, when the last bitter hour of their trial drew nigh. Compare Fox's *Acts*, p. 1356. 1362. 1386. 1398. 1423. 1474. 1719. &c.

soule

soule away with it, if you love my soule away with it." The boxe being taken away, the Lord Shandoys saide: "Seeing there is no remedie, dispatch quickly." Maister Hooper said; "Good my lord, I trust your Lordship will give me leave to make an ende of my praiers."

Then said the Lord Shandoys to Sir Edmund Bridges his sonne (which gave care before to M. Hoopers prayer at his request:) "Edmund, take heede that he doe nothing else but pray: if he do, tell mee, and I shall quicklie dispatch him." Whiles this talke was, there stepped one or two in uncalled, which hearde him speake these wordes following.

"Lord, said he, thou art a gracious God & a mercifull Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, & according to thine inestimable goodnesse. Thou art ascended into heaven, receive mee to be partaker of thy joyes, where thou sittest in equall glorie with thy father. For well knowst thou Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked doe persecute this thy poore servant: not for my sinnes and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy bloud, & to the deniall of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee by thy holy spirit to instruct me: the which with as much diligence as a poore wretch might (being therto called) I have set forth to thy glory. And well seest thou, my Lord and God, what terrible paines and cruell torments be prepared for thy creature: such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able to beare, or patiently to passe. But all things that are impossible with man, are possible with thee. Therefore strengthen mee of thy goodnesse, that

in

in the fire I breake not the rules of patience, or else asswage the terrour of the paines, as shall seeme most to thy glory."

As soone as the Maior had espied these men which made report of the former wordes, they were commanded away, and could not be suffered to heare any more. Praier being done, he prepared himselfe to the stake, and put off his hosts gowne, & delivered it to the Sheriffes, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his geare, unto his doublet and his hose, wherein he would have burned. But the Sheriffes would not permit that (such was their greedinesse) unto whose pleasures (good man) he very obedientlie submitted himselfe: and his doublet, hose, and peticote were taken off. Then being in his shirt, he tooke a point from his hose himselfe, and trussed his shirt betweene his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder [4] in a bladder, and under each arme the like quantitie delivered him by the Guard. So desiring the people to say the Lords praier with him, and to pray for him (who performed it with teares, during the time of his paines) he went up to

[4] *A pound of gunpowder.*] There were not wanting those whose hearts were hard enough to grudge to the poor sufferers this last melancholy consolation, which the charity of friends, or of the superintendents of the execution occasionally administered. Dorman, afterwards one of Bishop Jewel's antagonists, was present at the burning of Latimer and Ridley; and in his *Disproof* of Nowell's *Reproof*, fol. 19. A. D. 1565. he notices their having gunpowder given them, the sooner to rid them of their pains, "a kind of practice" (says he) "amongst Christs martyrs, never, I trow, heard of, the sooner to dispatch themselves; as with my own eyes I saw Ridley and Latimer burned." And in the margin he writes, "This agreeth not with the martyrdom of Polycarpus." To these reflexions, Dean Nowell in his *Confutation of Mr. Dorman*, p. 276. A. D. 1567. thus replies: "That Dorman might justly

to the stake. Now when he was at the stake, three yrons made to binde him to the stake, were brought: one for his necke, another for his middle, and the third for his legges. But he refusing them said: "ye have no neede thus to trouble your selves. For I doubt not but God will give strength sufficient to abide the extremitie of the fire, without bands: notwithstanding, suspecting the frailtie and weakenesse of the flesh, but having assured confidence in Gods strength, I am content ye doe as yee shall thinke good."

So the hoope of yron prepared for his middle, was brought, which being made somewhat too short (for his bellie was swoln by imprisonment) he shranke & put in his bellie with his hand, untill it was fastned: and when they offered to have bound his necke and legs with the other two hoopes of yron, he utterlie refused them, and would have none, saying; "I am well assured, I shall not trouble you."

Thus being readie, he looked upon the people, of whome hee might be well seene (for he was both tall, and stood also on an high stoole) and beheld round about him: and in every corner there was nothing to be seene but weeping and sorrowfull people. Then lifting up his eies and hands unto

justly lament, that he did see that wicked cruelty executed most unworthily upon so worthy men of learning and virtue, and so reverend in age as the one," (Latimer), "and in office and calling as they were both. But the more he might lament, that he reported that horrible wickedness and cruelty, without lamenting therefore; yea rather rejoycing highly therein." He added, "That Ignatius, that holy Martyr, said he would provoke and anger the beasts, that they might the more speedily tear him in pieces, and greedily devour him. And why may not the heat of fire be provoked, as well as the heat and fury of beasts?" See Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor.* Vol. III. p. 230.

heaven,

heaven, he praied to himselfe. By and by he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did aſke him forgivenesse. Of whome he asked, why he should forgive him, saying: that he knew never any offence he had committed against him. "Oh sir" (said the man) "I am appointed to make the fire." "Therein" (said M. Hooper) "thou doest nothing offend me: God forgive thee thy sinnes, and doe thine office, I pray thee." Then the Reedes were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his owne hands, imbraced them, kissed them, and put under either arme one of them, and shewed with his hand, how the rest should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any did lacke.

Anon, commandement was given that the fire should be set to, and so it was. But because there were put to no fewer greene fagots then two horses could carry upon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a prety while also before it took the reeds upon the fagots. At length it burned about him, but the winde having full strength in that place (it was also a lowring and cold morning) it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner no more but touched by the fire.

Within a space after, a fewe drie fagots were brought, and a new fire kindled with fagots, (for there were no more reeds:) and that burned at the neather parts, but had small power above, because of the winde, saving that it did burne his haire, and scorch his skinne a little. In the time of which fire even as at the first flame, saying mildely and not very loude (but as one without paines:) "O Jesus the sonne of David have mercy upon me, and receive my soule." After the second fire was spent, he did wipe both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said with an indiffe-

rent

rent loude voice: "For Gods love (good people) let me have more fire." And all this while his neather parts did burne: for the fagots were so fewe, that the flame did not burne strongly at his upper parts.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreame than the other two: and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the winde had such power. In the which fire he praied with somewhat a loude voice: "Lord Jesu have mercy upon me: Lord Jesu have mercy upon me: Lord Jesus receive my spirit." And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was blacke in the mouth, and his tongue swolne, that he could not speake, yet his lippes went till they were shrunke to the gummes: and he knocked his breast with his hands, until one of his armes fell off, and then knocked still with the other, what time the fat, water, and bloud dropped out at his fingers ends, untill by renewing of the fire, his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast in knocking to the yron upon his brest. So immediatly bowing forwards, he yeelded up his spirit.

Thus was he three quarters of an houre or more in the fire. Even as a Lambe, patiently he aboad the extreamitie therof, neither mooved forwards, backwards, or to any side: but having his neather parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, hee died as quietly as a childe in his bed: and he now reigneth as a blessed Martyr, in the joyes of heaven prepared for the faithfull in Christ, before the foundations of the world: for whose constancie all Christians are bound to praise God.

DOCTOR ROWLAND TAYLOR.

Our weapons are Faith, Hope, Charity, Righteousnesse, Truth, Patience, Prayer unto God; and our Sworde where-with we smite our enemies, we beate, and batter, and beare downe all falshoode, is the Worde of God. With these weapons under the banner of the Crosse of Christe we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand Master, Duke and Captain Christ. And then we reckon ourselves to triumph, and to win the crowne of everlasting blisse, when induring in this battaile, without any shrinking or yeelding to the enemies, after the example of our grand Captaine Christ our Master, after the example of his holy Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, when, I say, we are slain in our mortal bodies of our enemies, and are most cruelly, and without all mercy murthered.

BISHOP RIDLEY.

DOCTOR ROWLAND TAYLOR.

THE towne of Hadley was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, at the preaching of maister Thomas Bilney: by whose industrie the Gospel of Christ had such gracious successe, and tooke such roote there, that a great number in that parish became exceeding well learned in the holy scripture, as well women as men; so that a man might have found among them many, that had often reade the whole Bible through, and that could have said a great part of Saint Paules epistles by heart, & very well and readily have given a godly learned sentence in any matter of controversie. Their children and servants, wer also brought up & trained diligentlie in the right knowledge of Gods word, so that the whole towne seemed rather an universitie of the learned, then a towne of Clothmaking or labouring people. And that most is to be commended, they were for the more part faithfull followers of Gods word in their living.

In this towne was Doctor Rowland Tailor, Doctour in both the Civill and Canon lawes, and a right perfect Divine, parson. Who at his first entring into his benefice, did not, as the common sort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a Farmar, that should gather up the profits, and set in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the Cure, and so they may have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flocke. But contrarily he forsooke the archbishop of Canterbury Thomas

Cranmer, with whome he before was in household, and made his personall abode and dwelling in Hadley among the people committed to his charge. Where he was a good Shepheard, abiding & dwelling among his sheepe, gave himselfe wholy to the study of holy scriptures, most faithfully endevoring himselfe to fulfill that charge, which the Lord gave unto Peter, saying; *Peter lovest thou me? Feede my Lambes: Feed my sheepe: feed my sheepe.* This love of Christ so wrought in him, that no sunday nor holie day passed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their salvation.

Not only was his word a preaching unto them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfained christian life and true holinesse. He was void of all pride, humble, and meeke as any childe: so that none were so poore, but they might boldlie, as unto their father, resort unto him, neither was his lowlines childish or fearefull, but as occasion, time and place required, he would be stout in rebuking the sinfull and evill doers, so that none was so rich but he would tell him plainely his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good Curate and pastor. He was a man very milde, voide of al rancour, grudge, or evill will, ready to doe good to all men, readily forgiving his enemies, and never sought to doe evill to any.

To the poore that were blinde, lame, sick, bedrid, or that had many children, he was a very father, a carefull patron, & diligent provider, insomuch that hee caused the parishioners to make a generall provision for them; and hee himselfe (beside the continuall releef that they alwaies found at his house) gave an honest portion yearlie to the common almes boxe. His wife also was an honest,

discreete, and sober matrone; and his children well nurtured, brought up in the feare of God and good learning.

To conclude; he was a right and livelie image or patterne of all those vertuous qualities described by S. Paule in a true bishop, a good salt of the earth, savourly, biting the corrupt maners of evil men, a light in Gods house set upon a candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow.

Thus continued this good Shepheard among his flock, governing and leading them through the wildernesse of this wicked world, all the daies of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward the sixt. But after it pleased God to take king Edward from this vale of misery unto his most blessed rest, the papists, who ever sembled and dissembled, both with king Henry the eight, & king Edward his son, now seeing the time convenient for their purpose, uttered their false hypocrisie, openlie refusing all good reformation made by the said two most godly kings; and contrary to that they had all these two kings daies preached, taught, written, and sworn, they violently overthrew the true doctrine of the Gospell, & persecuted with sword and fire all those that wold not agree to receive againe the Romaine Bishop as supreame head of the universall church; & allow all the errors, superstitions & idolatries, that before by Gods word were disprooved and justly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, vertuous, and true religion.

In the beginning of this rage of Antichrist, a certaine petie Gentleman after the sort of a lawyer, called Foster, being a Steward and keeper of Courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecuter in those daies, with one John Clerke of Hadley, which Foster had ever beene a secret favourer

vourer of al Romish Idolatrie, conspired with the said Clerke to bring in the pope and his maumetry againe into Hadley church. For as yet Doctor Taylour, as a good shepheard had retained and kept in his church the godlie Church service and reformation made by king Edward, and moste faithfully and earnestlie preached against the popish corruptions, which had infected the whole countrey round about.

Therefore the foresaid Foster and Clerke hired one John Averth, parson of Aldam a very fit minister for their purpose, to come to Hadley, and there to give the onset to begin againe the popish Masse.

To this purpose they builded up with all haste possible the altar, intending to bring in their Masse againe, about the palme munday. But this their devise tooke none effect: for in the night the altar was beaten downe. Wherefore they built it up again, the second time, and laid diligent watch, least any should again break it downe.

On the day following came Foster and John Clerk, bringing with them their popish sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments, to play his popish pageant, whome they and their men garded with swords & bucklers, least any man should disturbe him in his missall sacrifice.

When Doctour Taylour, who, (according to his custome) sate at his book studying the word of God, heard the bels ring, he arose and went into the church, supposing something had bin there to be done, according to his pastorall office: & comming to the church, he found the church doores shut and fast barred, saving the Chancell doore, which was onelie latched: Where he entring in, and comming into the Chancell, saw a Popish sacrificer in his

his robes, with a broad new shaven Crowne, readie to beginne his popish Sacrifice, beset round about with drawne swords and bucklers, least any man should approache to disturbe him.

Then said Doctour Tailour; "Thou Divell, who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ, to prophane & defile it with this abhominable Idolatrie?" With that start up Foster, and with an irefull and furious countenance, saide to D. Taylour; "thou traytour, what doest thou heere, to let and disturbe the Queenes proceedings?" Doctor Taylour answered: "I am no traytour but I am the shepheard that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flocke: wherefore I have good authority to be here: and I command thee thou popish wolf, in the name of God to avoid hence, and not to presume here with such popish Idolatry, to poison Christs flocke."

Then said Foster, "wilt thou traitourly heretick make a commotion, and resist violently the Queenes proceedings?"

Doctour Tailour answered, "I make no commotion, but it is you Papists that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with Gods word, against your popish Idolatries, which are against Gods word, the Queenes honor, and tend to the utter subversion of this realme of England. And further thou dost against the law [1], which commandeth that no masse be saide but at a consecrate altar."

When the parson of Aldam heard that, he began

[1] *Against the law.*] "Ye hold still" (says Dr. William Turner, addressing himself to the Bishops of England) "hallowing of chirches and of vestementes; and that a priest *may not say masse* but in a hallowed place, without a superaltare; and this ordayned Felix the first Pope of that name." *Hunting and finding out the Romish Fox, by Will. Wraghton.* Signat. A 7. imprinted at Basyll. A. D. 1543.

to shrinke backe, and would have left his saying of Masse: then start up John Clerke, and said; "M. Averth, be not afraid, ye have a superaltare [2]. Goe forth with your busines man."

Then Foster, with his armed men, tooke Doctor Tailor, and led him with strong hand out of the Church, and the popish prelate proceeded in his Romish Idolatry. Doctor Tailors wife, who followed her husband into the church, when shee saw her husband thus violentlie thrust out of his church, shee kneeled downe and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said; "I beseech God the righteous judge to avenge this injurie, that this Popish Idolator this day doth to the bloud of Christ." Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the dores for they feared that the people would have rent their sacrificer in peeces. Notwithstanding, one or two threw in great stones at the windowes, and missed very little the popish masser.

Thus you see how without consent of the people, the popish masse was againe set up, with battaile array, with swordes and bucklers, with violence and tyranny.

Within a day or two after, with all haste possible, this Foster and Clerke made a complaint of Doctour Taylour, by a letter written to Steven Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellour.

When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter missive to Doctor Tailor, commanding him within certaine daies, to come and to appeare before him

[2] *Ye have a superaltare.*] "Superaltare is a stone consecrated by the bishops commonly of a foote long, which the Papists carry instead of an altar when they masse for money in gentlemens houses." Fox in the margin. Comp. also *Life of Cromwell* p. 280 n. 4.

upon

upon his allegeance, to answere such complaints as were made against him.

When Doctour Taylours friends heard of this, they were exceeding sorie and agreeved in minde: which then foreseeing to what end the same matter would come, seeing also all truth and justice were troden under foot, and falshood with cruel tyranny were set aloft and ruled all the whole route: his friends I say came to him, and earnestly counselled him to depart and flie, alledging and declaring unto him that he could neither be indifferentlie heard to speak his conscience and mind, nor yet looke for justice or favour at the said Chancellors handes, who as it was well knowne, was most fierce and cruell: but must needes (if he went up to him) wait for imprisonmet and cruell death at his hands.

Then said D. Taylour to his friendes: "Deare friendes, I most hartily thank you, for that you have so tender a care over me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be looked for at my adversaries hands, but rather imprisonment and cruell death; yet know I my cause to bee so good and righteous, and the truth so strong uppon my side, that I will by Gods grace goe and appeare before them, and to their beardes resist their false doings."

Then said his friends: "M. Doctour, we thinke it not best so to doe. You have sufficientlie done your dutie, and testified the truth, both by your godlie Sermons, and also in resisting the Parson of Aldam, with other that came hither to bring in againe the Popish Masse. And forasmuch as our Saviour Christ willeth and biddeth us, that when they persecute us in one citie, we should flie into another: wee thinke in flying at this time ye

should

should doe best, keeping yourselfe against another time, when the church shall have great neede of such diligent teachers, and godlie Pastors."

"Oh" (quoth Doctour Taylour) "what will yee have mee to do? I am now olde, and have alreadie lived too long to see these terrible and most wicked daies. Flie you, and doe as your conscience leadeth you. I am fullie determined (with Gods grace) to goe to the Bishop, and to his beard to tel him that he doth naught. God shall wel heereafter raise up teachers of his people, which shall with much more diligence and fruite teach them, than I have done. For God will not forsake his church, though now for a time hee trieth and correcteth us, and not without a just cause.

"As for me, I beleeve before God, I shall never be able to do God so good service, as I may doe now: nor I shall never have so glorious a calling, as I now have, nor so great mercie of God profered mee, as is now at this present. For what Christian man would not gladlie die against the pope and his adherents? I knowe that the Papacie is the kingdome of Antichrist, altogether full of lies, altogether full of falsehood, so that all their doctrine, even from Christs Crosse be my speed and Saint Nicholas[3], unto the end of their Apocalips,

[3] *And Saint Nicholas.*] See Myles Hoggard's "*Newe A B C paraphrastically applied.* 1557. 4to.

"When children first begin to learne
Their letters for to knowe,
Right their difference to discerne
Thei lerne their Christ Crosse row:
Christ his crosse be my spede, saye they,
And good Sainct Nycholas:
In our child hode this did we pray,
For so the custome was."

A little

lips, is nothing but Idolatry, superstition, errours, hypocrisie and lies.

" Wherefore I beseech you and all other my friends, to pray for me, and I doubt not but God will give me strength and his holie spirit, that all mine adversaries shall have shame of their doings."

When his friends sawe him so constant, and fully determined to go, they with weeping eyes commended him unto God: and he within a day or two prepared himself to his journey, leaving his cure with a godlie olde Priest, named sir Richard Yeoman [4], who afterwards for Gods trueth was burnt at Norwich.

There

A little below he proceeds,

" The holy man sainct Nycholas
Our children call for ayde:
I thinke most men knoweth not the case
And why it was so sayde.
Sainct Nicholas a childe beinge
His crosse right soone he bore;
For his body with muche fastinge
He punished full sore:
To teach both children and old men
Their crosse to take lykewise,
And after Christ to beare it then
With often exercise.
And after this child hode past,
A bishop made was he;
All worldlynes from him he cast,
And walkte in charitie."———

[4] *Sir Richard Yeoman.*] Yeoman's story is told at some length by Fox. p. 1855, and contains several exceedingly curious and affecting particulars. After his dismission from his cure at Hadley by Newall, Dr. Taylor's successor, he wandered a long time from place to place in that neighbourhood, moving and exhorting all men to stand faithfully to God's word, to give themselves to prayer, and to bear the cross now laid upon them with patience and Christian hope. " But when hee perceived his adversaries to lie in waite for him, he went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pinnes, and points,

There was also in Hadley one Alcocke, a verie godly man, well learned in the holy Scriptures, who (after sir Richard Yeoman was driven away) used dailie to reade a chapter, and to say the English Letanie in Hadley Church. But him they fetched up to London, and cast him in prison in Newgate: where after a yeares imprisonment he died.

But let us returne to doctor Taylor againe, who beeing accompanied with a servant of his owne, named John Hull, tooke his journey towardes London. By the way, this John Hull laboured to counsell and perswade him very earnestlie to flie, and not to come to the Bishop, and profered himselfe to go with him to serve him; and in all perils to venture his life for him and with him.

But in no wise would Doctour Tailour consent or agree thereunto, but said: "Oh John, shall I give place to this thy counsell and worldlie perswasion, and leave my flocke in this danger? Remember the good Shepheard Christ, which not alonely fed his flocke, but also died for his flocke. Him must I follow, and with Gods grace will doe.

points, and such-like things, he travelled from village to village, selling such things, and by that poore shift gat himself somewhat to the sustaining of himselfe, his poore wife and children." After some time had elapsed "he came againe secretly to Hadley, and tarried with his poore wife, who kept him secretly in a chamber of the Town-House, commonly called the Guild-hall, more than a yeare. All the whiche time the good old father abode in a chamber locked up all the day, and spent his time in devout praier, and reading the Scriptures, and in carding of wool which his wife did spin. His wife also did goe and beg bread and meate for her-selfe and her children; and by such poore meanes sustained they themselves." In this hiding place he was discovered at length by Newall, hurried to prison to Bury, and burnt at Norwich. "The chief articles objected to him were his marriage, and the masse sacrifice."

Therefore

Therefore good John pray for me; and if thou seest me weak at any time, comfort mee, and discourage mee not in this my Godlie enterprise, and purpose."

Thus they came up to London, and shortlie after doctour Tailour presented himselfe to the bishop of Winchester; Steven Gardiner, then Lord Chauncellor of England.

For this hath bin one great abuse in England these many yeares, that such offices as have been of most importance and waight, have commonly been committed to Bishops and other spirituall men, whereby three divelish mischiefes and inconveniences have happened in this realm, to the great dishonour of God, and utter neglecting of the flock of Christ: the which three be these.

First, they have had small leasure to attend to their pastorall cures, which thereby have beene utterly neglected and left undone.

Secondly, it hath also puft up many Bishops and other spirituall persons into such haughtinesse and pride, that they have thought no noble man in the realme worthy to be their equall and fellow.

Thirdly, where they by this meanes knew the verie secrets of Princes, they beeing in such high offices, have caused the same to be knowne in Rome, afore the Kings could accomplish and bring their intents to passe in England. By this meanes hath the Papacie been so maintained, and things ordered after their willes and pleasures, that much mischiefe hath happened in this realm and others, sometime to the destruction of Princes, and somtime to the utter undoing of manie Common wealthes.

Now when Gardiner sawe doctor Taylour, hee according to his common custome, all to reviled him, calling him knave, traytour, heretieke, with

many

many other villainous reproches: which all doctor Taylor heard patiently, and at the last said unto him:

"My Lord," quoth hee, "I am neither Traytour nor heretick, but a true subject, and a faithfull christian man; and am come according to your commandement, to know what is the cause that your Lordship hath sent for me."

Then said the bishop, "art thou come, thou villaine? How darest thou looke me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?"

"Yes," quoth D. Taylor, "I know who you are. Ye are doctor Steven Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor, and yet but a mortal man I trowe. But if I should be afraid of your lordly lookes, why feare you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye for shame looke any christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the trueth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your owne othe and writing? With what countenance will ye appeare before the judgement seate of Christ, and answer to your othe made first unto that blessed K. Henry the eight, of famous memory, and afterward unto blessed king Edward the 6. his son?"

The bishop answered: "Tush, tush, that was Herodes othe,[5] unlawfull, and therefore worthy to be

[5] *That was Herodes othe.*] In a conference between Dr. Martin and Archbishop Cranmer, when Cranmer was in prison at Oxford, Martin alleges to the Archbishop, "You say that you have sworne once to King Henry the eighth against the Popes jurisdiction, and therefore you may never forsweare the same, and so ye make a great matter of conscience in the breach of the said othe. Heere will I aske you a question or two. Herod did sweare, whatsoever his harlot asked of him he would give her, and he gave her John Baptists head. Did he well in keeping his othe?

Cranmer

be broken. I have don well in breaking it: and, I thanke God, I am come home againe to our mother the catholick church of Rome, and so I would thou shouldest doe."

Doctor Taylor answered, "should I forsake the Church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the Apostles and Prophetes, to approove those lies, errours, superstitions and Idolatries, that the popes and their company at this day so blaspheamously do approove? Nay, God forbid.

Let the pope and his returne to our Saviour Christ and his worde, and thrust out of the Churches such abhominable Idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will christian men turne unto him. You wrote truely against him, and were sworne against him."

"I tell thee," quoth the bishop of Winchester, "it was Herods oth, unlawfull, and therefore ought to be broken and not kept: and our holy father the pope hath discharged me of it."

Then said D. Taylor: "but you shall not so be discharged before Christ, who doubtles wil require it at your hands, as a lawfull oth made to your liege and soveraigne Lord the king; from whose

Cranmer. I think not." Fox's *Acts.* p. 1702. And Bradford having pleaded to Gardiner that he had been six times sworn against the admission of any papal jurisdiction or authority in this realm of England, Gardiner says "Tush! Herods othes a man should make no conscience at.

Bradford. But, my Lord, these were no Herods othes, no unlawful othes, but othes according to Gods word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your booke *De vera obedientia.*" Fox's *Acts.* p. 1459. In the progress of our history we shall find the Reformers continually reminding Gardiner of this book, Bonner of his preface prefixed to it, Tonstall of his Sermon preached before Henry 8th. A. D. 1539, and several others of the bishops of like inconsistencies between their doctrines and practices in the two preceding and in the present reigns.

obedience

obedience no man can assoile you, neither the Pope nor none of his."

"I see," quoth the Bishop, "thou art an arrogant knave, and a very foole."

"My Lord," quoth D. Taylor, "leave your unseemely rayling at me, which is not seemely for such a one in authoritie as you are. For I am a Christian man, and you know that *Hee that saith to his brother Racha, is in danger of a Councell; and he that saith thou foole, is in danger of hell fire.*"

The bishop answered, "Ye are false, and lyars all the sort of you." "Nay," quoth Doctor Taylor, "we are true men, and know that it is written, *The mouth that lieth slaieth the soule.* And againe, *Lord God thou shalt destroy all that speake lies.* And therefore wee abide by the trueth of Gods worde, which ye contrary to your own consciences deny and forsake."

"Thou art maried" (quoth the Bishop)? "Yea," (quoth Doctor Taylor) "that I thanke God I am, and have had nine children, and all in lawfull matrimony; and blessed bee God that ordained matrimony, and commanded that every man that hath not the gift of continencie should marry a wife of his owne, and not live in adultery, or whoredome."

Then said the Bishop: "thou hast resisted the Queenes proceedinges, and wouldest not suffer the Parson of Aldham a very vertuous and devout Priest, to say masse in Hadley." Doctor Taylor answered. "My Lord I am parson of Hadley; and it is against all right, conscience and lawes, that any man shall come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with venome of the Popish Idolatrous Masse."

With

With that the Bishop waxed very angry, and said: "Thou art a blasphemous hereticke indeede, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament" (and put off his cappe) "and speakest against the holy masse, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Doctor Taylour answered, "Nay I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a true christian man ought to doe, and confesse that Christ ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keepe according to his ordinance, we (through faith) eat the body of Christ, and drinke his bloud, giving thankes for our redemption, and this is our sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give God thankes for his mercifull goodnes shewed to us, in that he gave his sonne Christ unto the death for us."

"Thou saiest well" (quoth the Bishop). "It is all that thou hast said, and more too; for it is a propitiatorie sacrifice for the quicke and the dead." Then answered Doctor Taylour: "Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the crosse, whose bodie there offered, was the propitiatorie sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation, for all them that beleeve in him. And this sacrifice did our Saviour Christ offer in his owne person himselfe once for all, neither can any Priest any more offer him, nor we neede no more propitiatorie sacrifice; and therefore I say with Chrysostome, and all the doctors: Our sacrifice is only memorative, in the remembrance of Christes death and passion, a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and therfore the fathers called it *Eucharistia:* And other sacrifice hath the Church of God none."

"It is true, quoth the bishop, the Sacrament is called *Eucharistia*, a thanksgiving, because we

there give thankes for our redemption; and it is also a sacrifice propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead, which thou shalt confesse ere thou and I have done." Then called the bishop his men, and said: "have this fellow hence and cary him to the Kings bench, and charge the keeper hee be streitly kept."

Then kneeled doctor Taylour downe, and helde up both his hands, and said: "Good Lord I thanke thee; and from the tyranny[6] of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, Idolatries, and abhominations, good Lord deliver us: And God be praysed for good king Edward." So they caried him to prison, to the kinges Bench, where hee lay prisoner almost two yeares.

This is the summe of that first talke, as I saw it mentioned in a Letter that doctor Taylor wrote to a friende of his, thanking God for his grace, that he had confessed his truth, and was found worthy for trueth to suffer prison and bands, beseeching his friends to pray for him, that hee might persevere constant unto the end.

[6] *From the tyranny.*] In the English Litany, which was first permitted and published in the year 1544, and in the Primer of King Henry the eighth which came out in the following year, one of the petitions ran in the following words, "From all sedition and privy conspiracy, from *the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his abominable enormities*, from all false doctrine and heresy, from all hardnesse of hart, and contempt of thy word and commaundements; Good Lord deliver us." In the two books of King Edward the petition remained, with the change of the word *detestable* for abominable. To this passage in the Litany no doubt Dr. Taylor had reference in the prayer which he offered up. Comp. Fox's *Acts*, p. 1438 and p. 1443, where a similar use is made by two other confessors of the same petition. At the beginning of the reign of Q. Elizabeth among some other conciliatory alterations which then took place, the words relating to the Bishop of Rome were omitted, and the petition framed as it now stands.

Being

Being in prison, doctor Taylour spent all his time in praier, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching, and exhorting the prisoners and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendement of life.

Within a fewe dayes after, were diverse other learned and godly men in sundrie countries of England committed to prison for religion, so that almost all the prisons in England were become right christian schooles and churches, so that there was no greater comforte for christian heartes, than to come to the prisons, to behold their vertuous conversation, and to heare their prayers[7], preachinges, most godly exhortations, and consolations.

Now were placed in churches, blinde and ignorant masse-mongers with their Latine babblings and apish ceremonies: who like cruell Wolves spared not to murther all such, as any thing at all, but once whispered against their poperie. As for the godly preachers which were in King Edwardes time, they were either fledde the realme, or else, as the Prophets did in king Achabs dayes, they were privily

[7] *To heare their prayers.*] "After that" (says George Marsh, the Martyr, in an account which he left behind him of his troubles), "they threatened and rebuked mee, for my preaching to the people out of the prison, and for my praying and reading so loud, that the people in the streets might heare.—The truth is, I and my prison fellow Warburton, every day kneeling on our knees did read morning and evening prayer, with the English Litany every day twise, both before noone and after, with other prayers more; and also read every day certaine chapters of the Bible, commonly towards night. And we read also these things with so high and loud a voice, that the people without in the streets might heare us; and would oftentimes, namely in the evenings, come and sit downe in our sightes under the windowes and heare us read; wherewith others being offended, complained." Fox's *Acts.* p. 1421.

kept in corners. As for as many as the papistes could lay holde on, they were sent into prison, there as Lambes waiting when the butchers would call them to the slaughter.

When doctor Taylor was come into the prison called the Kings Bench, he found therein the vertuous and vigilant preacher of Gods word, M. Bradford; which man for his innocent and godly living, his devout and vertuous preaching, was worthily counted a myracle of our time, as even his adversaries must needes confesse. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, and patience, and to persever constant unto the end. M. Bradford hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable prison fellow; and so they both together lauded God, and continued in praier, reading, and exharting one the other: Insomuch that D. Taylor tolde his friendes that came to visite him, that God had most gratiously provided for him, to send him to that prison where he found such an angell of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

After that doctor Taylor had lien in prison a while, hee was cited to appeare in the arches at Bow church, to answer unto such matter, as there shuld be objected against him. At the day appointed he was led thither, his keeper waiting upon him. Where, when he came, he stoutly and strongly defended his marriage, affirming by the scriptures of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both lawes civill and canon, that it is lawfull for priestes to marry; and that such as have not the gift of continencie, are bound in pain of damnation to marrie. This did he so plainely proove that the Judge could give no sentence of divorce

divorce against him, but gave sentence he should be deprived of his benefice because he was married.

"You do me wrong then" (quoth doctor Taylor) and alledged many lawes and constitutions for himselfe, but all prevailed not. For he was againe carried into prison, and his livings taken away, and given to other. As for Hadley benefice, it was given or solde, I wote not whether, to one maister Newealle, whose great vertues were altogether unlike to doctour Taylor his predecessour, as the poore parishioners full well have prooved.

After a yeare and three quarters, or thereabout, in the which time the Papists got certaine olde tyrannous lawes, which were put downe by king Henry the eight, and by king Edward, to bee againe revived by Parliament, so that now they might *Ex officio*, cite whom they would, upon their owne suspition, and charge him with what articles they lusted, and except they in all things agreed to their purpose, burne them: when these lawes[3] were once established, they sent for Doctour Taylor with certaine other prisoners, which were convented before the chauncellour and other commissioners about the 22. of January (1555). The purport and effect of which talke betweene them, because it is sufficiently described by himselfe in

[3] *When these lawes.*] See *Life of Rogers*, p. 393. note 7.

"Yea, have they not already gotten that auctorite by renewing the wicked act, *ex officio*, that they may call any man before them, upon suspection, and keepe him forty daies in their prisons, although no man have accusid him, and examine him privily in his, or their houses or places? and so condempne him to lose both goods, lands and life too, except he recant?" *Supplication to the Queen's Majesty*, fol. 19. said to be imprinted by John Cawood.

his

his owne letter written to a friend of his, I have annexed the said letter here under as followeth.

Whereas you would have me to write the talke between the king and queens most honourable Councell and me on Tuesday, the xxii. of January, so farre as I remember: First my Lord Chauncellour said: "You among other are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the kings and the queens majesties favour and mercy, if you wil now rise againe with us from the fall which we generally have received in this realme, from the which (God be praised) wee are now clearely delivered, miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall have judgement according to your demerites." To this I answered: "that so to rise, should be the greatest fall that ever I could receive: for I should so fall from my deare saviour Christ, to Antichrist. For I doe beleeve that the religion set forth in king Edwardes daies, was according to the veine of the holy scripture, which containeth fully all the rules of our christian religion, from the which I do not intend to decline so long as I live, by Gods grace."

Then master Secretary Bourne said: "which of the Religions meane ye of in king Edwards dayes? For ye know there were divers Bookes of Religion set forth in his daies: There was a religion set forth in a Catechisme by my Lord of Canturburie. Doe you meane that you will sticke to that?"

I answered: "My Lord of Canturburie made a Catechisme[9] to be translated into English, which booke

[9] *Made a Catechisme*] This Catechism was written originally in Dutch (German), and was translated by Justas Jonas into Latin, from which copy Cranmer made his version. It was

booke was not of his owne making: yet hee set it forth in his owne name, and truely that booke for the time did much good. But there was after that set forth by the most innocent king Edward (for whom, God bee praised everlastingly) the whole church service, with great deliberation, and the advise of the best learned men of the realme, and authorised by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realme: which booke was never reformed but once, and yet by that one reformation it was so fully perfited, according to the rules of our christian religion in every behalfe, that no christian conscience could bee offended with any thing therein contained: I meane of that booke reformed[1]."

Then my Lord Chancellor said: "Diddest thou never reade the booke that I set forth[2] of the sacrament?"

I an-

was published under the following title. "*Catechismus: that is to say a short instruction into Christian Religion for the synguler commoditie and profyte of children and yong people: set forth by the mouste reverende father in God Thomas Archbyshop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitane. Gualterus Lynne exardebat.* 1548." It contains several head-pieces &c. *designed*, and in part at least *engraven* by Hans Holbein; and extends to something more than five hundred pages, small 8vo.

[1] *That booke reformed.*] The Book of Common Prayer was first published in the year 1549. The revised copy, here appealed to by Taylor, was printed A. D. 1552. Of the History of the English Liturgy, and of the alterations which took place at this, and other times, see Wheatly on the Common Prayer, Sparrow, Shepherd, &c. &c.

[2] *That I set forth.*] Gardiner printed not less than three works upon this subject. The first in 1546, intitled, *Detection of the Devils Sophistrie*; the second, *An explication and assertion of the true catholic faith*, in 1551, against Abp. Cranmer (these two in English); and the third, as we are told by Strype and Tanner, in 1552, (and if so certainly again also in 1554) intitled *Confutatio cavillationum, quibus sacrosanctum Eucharistiæ*

I answered that I had read it.

Then hee saide: "How likeſt thou that booke?" With that, one of the Councell (whose name I knowe not) sayde: "My Lorde, that is a good question: for I am sure, that Booke ſtoppeth all their mouthes." Then saide I: "My Lord, I thinke many things be farre wide from the trueth of Gods worde in that booke."

Then my Lord said: "Thou art a very varlet." To that I answered: "that is as ill as Racha or Fatue." Then my Lord saide: "Thou art an ignorant beetill brow."

To that I answerd: "I have read over and over again the holy scriptures, and S. Augustines workes through, S. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origene, Gregory Nazianzen, with divers other books through once: therefore I thanke God I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my Lord, I professed the civil lawes, as your Lordship did, and I have read over the Canon law also."

Then my Lord said: "with a corrupt judgement thou readest all things. Touching my profession it is Divinitie [3], in which I have written divers books."

ristiæ sacramentum ab impiis Capharnaitis impeti solet. This, I apprehend, is the book here inquired of by Gardiner. It was aimed in part against Cranmer, but without the mention of his name. The Archbishop had made considerable progress in an Answer to it at the time of his martyrdom: but his labour being thus frustrated, Peter Martyr took up the design, and thoroughly confuted Gardiner's performance in a very elaborate *Defence* of the ancient and apostolical doctrine, printed A. D. 1559, in folio.

[3] *It is Divinitie.*] Notwithstanding what the Lord Chancellor says here, it is certain that his original profession was that of a Civilian, and his degrees were in that science. There were times when this crafty politician knew how to express himself in a very different manner, respecting his proficiency in Theological studies. In a letter to his former imperious master

books." Then I said: "My Lord, ye did write one booke, *De vera obedientia:* I would you had beene constant in that: for indeed you never did declare a good conscience that I heard of, but in that one booke."

Then my lord said, "tut, tut, tut, I wrot against Bucer on priests marriages: but such books please not such wretches as thou art, which has beene married many yeares."

To that I answered: "I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God: and this I am sure of, that your proceedings now at this present in this realme against Priests marriages is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, against naturall lawe, civil lawe, canon lawe, generall councels, canons of the Apostles, ancient Doctors, and Gods lawes."

Then spake my lord of Duresm, saying: "You have professed the civil law, as you say. Then you know that *Justinian* writeth that Priests should at their taking of orders sweare, that they were never married: and he bringeth in to prove that, *Canones Apostolorum.*"

To that I answered: "that I did not remember any such lawe of *Justinian.* But I am sure that *Justinian* writeth in *Titulo de indicta viduitate,* in his Code that if one would bequeath to his wife in his Testament a legacie, under a condition that

master King Henry VIII. he thus humbly bows himself to the monarch's will. "The contrary whereof, if your Grace can now prove, yet I, *not learned in Divinity,* ne knowing any part of your Graces proves, am I trust without cause of blame in that behalf. When I know that I know not, I shall then speak hereafter." Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* Vol. I. p. 148. Records. For Cranmer's judgment of Bishop Gardiner's learning and controversial talents, see his *Answer to Gardiner,* p. 249. 323. edit. 1580.

shee

shee should never marry againe, & take an oathe of her for accompliſhing the same, yet she may marry againe if he die, notwithstanding the aforesaid conditions & othe taken & made against mariage: and an othe is another maner of obligation made to God, than is a papisticall vow made to man.

" Moreover, in the Pandects it is contained, that if a man doth manumit his handmaid under a condition, that she shal never marry: yet she may marry, & hir Patrone shal lose *jus patronatus*, for adding the unnaturall, and unlawfull condition against matrimony."

Then my Lord Chancellour said; " thou saiest that priests may be married by Gods law. How proovest thou that?"

I answered: " by the plaine words and sentences of S. Paule, both to Timothy and to Titus; where he speakes most evidently of the marriage of Priests, Deacons, & Bishops. And Chrysostome writing upon the Epistle to Timothy saith: It is an heresie to say that a bishop may not be married."

Then said my Lord Chancellour, " thou lyest of Chrysostome. But thou doest, as all thy companions doe, belie ever without shame, both the scriptures and the Doctors. Didst thou not also say, that by the canon law Priests may be married? which is most untrue, and the contrarie is most true."

" I answered: " We reade in the decrees, that the foure generall Councels, Nicene, Constantinopolitane, Ephesine, Chalcedone, have the same authoritie that the foure Evangelists have. And wee read in the same decrees (which is one of the chiefe bookes of the canon law) that the councel of Nicen, by the means of one Paphnutius, did allow

Priests

Priests & bishops marriages. Therfore by the best part of the canon law, priests may be married."

Then my Lord Chancellour said: "thou falsifiest the generall Councell. For there is expresse mention in the said decree, that Priestes ſhoulde bee divorced from their wives, which bee married."

Then said I, "if those words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine. Let the book be fetched."

Then spake my lord of Duresme: "though they be not there, yet they may be in *Ecclesiastica historia*, which Eusebius wrote, out of which booke the Decree was taken."

To that said I: "it is not like that the pope would leave out any such sentence, having such authoritie, and making so much for his purpose."

Then my lord Chancellor said: "Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as maketh for thy purpose." I answered, "my lord, I cannot but marvell that you do call one of the chiefe papistes that ever was, but a patcher."

Then my lord Chancellor saide: "Nay I call thee a snatcher and a patcher: To make an end: wilt thou not returne again with us to the catholicke Church?" and with that he rose.

And I saide, "By Gods grace I will never depart from Christs Church." Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to mee in prison: and my lord Chancellor said: "thou shalt have judgment within this week:" and so was I delivered againe unto my keeper. My Lord of Duresme woulde that I should beleve as my father & my mother did. I alledged S. Augustine, that we ought to preferre Gods word before all men.

After that doctor Taylor thus with great spirite and courage had answered for himselfe, and stoutly rebuked his adversaries for breaking their othe made before to king Henry and to king Edward his sonne, and for betraying the Realme into the power of the Romaine Bishop, they perceiving that in no case he could be stirred to their wils and purpose, that is, to turne with them from Christ to Antichrist, committed him thereupon to prison againe, where he endured till the last of Januarie.

Upon which day and yeare aforesaid, D. Taylour and M. Bradford, and M. Sanders were againe called to appeare before the Bishop of Winchester, the bishoppe of Norwich, of London, of Salisbury, and of Duresme, and there were charged again with heresie and schisme, and therfore a determinate answere was required: whether they would submit themselves to the Romain bishop and abjure their errors, or else they would according to their lawes proceed to their condemnation.

When doctor Taylor and his fellowes, M. Bradford and M. Saunders heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in king Edwards daies, neither would they submit themselves to the Romish Antichrist, but they thanked God for so great mercie, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

When the Bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and unmoveably fixed in the trueth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thankes, and stoutly said unto the Bishops: Wee doubt not but God the righteous Judge, will require our bloud at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving againe of Antichrist,

christ, and your tyranny that ye now shew against the flocke of Christ.

So was doctor Taylor, now condemned, committed to the Clinke, and the keepers charged straitly to keepe him: "for ye have now another maner of charge" (quoth the Lord Chancellor) "then ye had before: therefore looke ye take heed to it."

When the keeper brought him toward the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him: unto whom he saide: "God be praised (good people) I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirme the truth with my bloud." So was hee bestowed in the Clinke till it was toward night, and then hee was remooved to the Counter by the Poultry.

When Doctor Taylor had lien in the said Counter in the Poultry a sevennight or thereabouts prisoner, the fourth day of Februarie, Anno 1555, Edmund Boner Bishop of London with others, came to the saide Counter to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments, as do appertaine to their massing mummerie. Now being come, hee called for the said doctor Taylor to be brought unto him (the bishop being then in the chamber, where the keeper of the Counter and his wife lay.) So Doctor Taylor was brought downe from the chamber above that, to the said Boner. And at his comming, the Bishop said: "Maister Doctor, I would you would remember your selfe, and turne to your mother holy Church: so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon. Whereunto maister Taylor answered: "I would you and your fellowes would turn to Christ. As for me I will not turne to Antichrist." "Well," quoth the bishop, "I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on these vestures." "No," quoth

Doctor

Doctor Taylor, " I will not." " Wilt thou not," said the Bishop? " I shall make thee, ere I goe." Quoth Doctor Taylor, " you shall not by the grace of God." Then he charged him upon his obedience to doe it, but hee would not doe it for him.

So he willed another to put them on his backe: and when hee was throughly furnished therewith, hee set his handes by his side, walking up and downe, and said: " how say you my Lord, am I not a goodly foole? how say you my maisters? If I were in Cheape, should I not have boyes enough to laugh at these apish toyes, and toying trumpery?" So the Bishop scraped his fingers[4], thumbes, and the crowne of his head, and did the rest of such like devilish observances.

At the last, when hee should have given Doctor Taylor, a stroke on the brest with his Crosier staffe, the Bishops chaplein said: " my Lord strike him not, for he will sure strike againe." " Yea

4 *Scraped his fingers.*] Thus in the ceremonial of the degradation of Archbishop Cranmer, " a Barber clipped his haire round about, and the Bishop *scraped the tops of his fingers, where he had been anointed*, wherein bishop Bonner behaved himselfe as roughly and unmannerly, as the other bishop" (Thirlby) " was to him soft and gentle." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1709. In another part of his work, Fox has published the entire ritual of the degradation of an Archbishop, with the rubrics, &c. from which the reader, if he thinks it worth his while, may obtain an explanation of the mystical import of these and all the other ceremonies. *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1931.

" *Oliver.* What haddest thou done that he gave thee so sore penaunce? ' *Nicholas.* It chaunced the chalice to be left at my house, and one of the feete of it hung out at a little hole; and so I chaunced to touch it with my bare hands. *Oliver.* That was not so great offence. *Nicholas.* No was? Our Sir John would sing no more with it, till it was newe hallowed. And *he scraped my fingers*, till the bloode followed." Michael Wood's *Dialogue or Familiar Talk.* signat. B 8. A. D. 1554.

by

by S. Peter will I" (quoth Doct. Taylor.) "The Cause is Christes, and I were no good christian if I would not fight in my maisters quarrell." So the bishop laide his curse upon him, but strooke him not. Then Doctor Taylour said: "though you doe curse mee; yet God doth blesse me. I have the witnesse of my conscience, that ye have done me wrong and violence: And yet I pray God, if it be his will, forgive you. But from the tyranny of the bishop of Roine, and his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us." And in going up to his chamber, hee still said: "God deliver me from you; God deliver me from you." And when he came up, hee tolde maister Bradford (for then both lay in one chamber) that he had made the bishop of London afraide: "for," saith he laughingly, "his chapleine gave him counsell not to strike me with his Crosier staffe, for that I would strike again: and by my troth, said he rubbing his handes, I made him beleeve I would do so indeed."

The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his son Thomas resorted to him, & were by the gentlenesse of the keepers permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found betweene the keepers of the bishops prisons, and the keepers of the King's prisons, that the bishops keepers were ever cruell, blasphemous, and tyrannous, like their maisters: but the keepers of the Kings prisons shewed for the most part, as much favour as they possibly might.

So came Doctor Taylors wife, his son, and John Hull his servant, to sup with him: and at their comming in afore Supper, they kneeled downe and praied, saying the Letany.

After supper walking up and downe, he gave God thankes for his grace, that had so called him

him and given him strength to abide by his holy worde: and turning to his sonne Thomas: "My deare sonne," said he, "almighty God blesse thee, and give thee his holy spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his trueth all thy life long. And my sonne, see that thou feare God alwaies. Flee from all sin, and wicked living: be vertuous, serve God with dayly praier, and apply thy book. In any wise see thou be obedient to thy mother, love her, and serve her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsell in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that feare not God, but followe their lewd lusts and vaine appetites. Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering, that I thy father doe die in the defence of holy marriage. An other day when God shall blesse thee, love and cherish the poore people, and count that thy chiefe riches is to be rich in almes: and when thy mother is waxed old, forsake her not, but provide for her to thy power, and see that she lacke nothing: For so will God blesse thee, and give thee long life upon earth and prosperitie: which I pray God to graunt him."

Then turning to his wife: "My deare wife," quoth hee, "continue stedfast in the feare and love of God, keepe your selfe undefiled from their popish Idolatries, and superstitions. I have bin unto you a faithfull yokefellow, and so have you been unto mee; for the which I pray God to reward you, and doubt you not deare wife, but God will reward it.

"Now the time is come that I shall bee taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlocke bond towards mee: therefore I will give you my counsell, what I thinke most expedient for you. You are yet a childbearing woman, and therefore

it

it wil be ost convenient for you to marry. For doubtlse you shal never be at a convenient stay for ur self and our poore children, nor out of trouble, till you bee married. Therefore as soone as God will provide it, marry with some honest faithfull man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a mercifull father to you and to my children; whom I pray you, bring up in the feare of God, and in learning, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them from this Romish Idolatry." When he had thus said, they with weeping teares praied togither, and kissed one the other: and he gave to his wife a booke of the church service, set out by K. Edward, which in the time of his imprisonment he daily used. And unto his sonne Thomas he gave a Latine book, conteining the notable sayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of *Ecclesiastica historia:* and in the end of that booke he wrote his Testament and last *Vale*, as hereafter followeth.

. . .

The last Will and Testament of Doctor Rowland Taylor, Parson of Hadley.

"I say to my wife, and to my children: The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from mee: blessed be the name of the Lord. I beleeve that they are blessed which die in the Lord. God careth for Sparowes, and for the haires of our heads. I have ever found him, more faithfull and favourable, than is any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in him by the meanes of our deare Saviour Christes merites: beleeve, love, feare and obey him: pray to him,

for he hath promised to helpe. Cou. mee not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I goe before, and you shall follow after, to ot long home. I go to the rest of my children, Stan, George, Ellen, Robert and Zachary. I have bequeathed you to the only omnipotent.

" I say to my deare friends of Hadley, and to all other which have heard mee preach, that I depart hence with a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine: for the which I pray you thank God with me. For I have after my little talent declared to other, those lessons that I gathered out of Gods booke, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I or an angell from heaven should preach to you any other gospell, than that ye have received, Gods great curse upon that Preacher.

" Beware for Gods sake, that ye deny not God, neither decline from the worde of faith, least God decline from you, and so do ye everlastingly perish. For Gods sake beware of popery, for though it appeare to have in it unitie, yet the same is in vanitie, and Antichristianitie, and not in Christes faith and veritie.

" Beware of the sinne against the holy Ghost, now after such a light opened so plainely and simply, truely, throughly and generally to all England.

" The Lord graunt all men his good and holy spirite, increase of his wisedome, contemning the wicked world, hearty desire to be with God & the heavenly company, through Jesus Christ, our only mediator, advocate, righteousnesse, life, sanctification, and hope, Amen, Amen. Pray, Pray.

" Rowland Taylour departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting of eternall salvation, I thank God my heavenly father,

father, through Jesus Christ my certaine Saviour, Amen.

" The 5. of Februarie. Anno 1555.

" Psalme. 27.

" The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom then shall I fear?

" Rom. 8.

" God is he that justifieth: who is he that can condemne?

" Psalme 30.

" In thee O Lord have I trusted, let me never be confounded."

On the next morrow, after that doctor Taylour had supped with his wife in the Counter, as is before expressed, which was the fift day of February, the shiriffe of London, with his officers came to the Counter by two of the clocke in the morning, and so brought forth Doctor Taylour, and without any light led him to the Woolsacke, an Inne without Aldgate. Doctor Taylours wife suspecting that her husband should that night be caried away, watched all night within S. Butolphs church-porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth of thirteen yeares of age (whom being left without father or mother, Doctor Taylor had brought up of almes from three yeares old) the other named Mary, doctor Tailors own daughter.

Now, when the shiriffe and his company came against S. Butolphes church, Elizabeth cried saying: " O my deare father: Mother, mother, here is my father led away." Then cried his wife: " Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?" for it was a verie darke morning, that the one could not see the other. Doctor Tailor answered: " Deare wife,

I am here," and staied. The shiriffes men would have led him forth, but the shiriffe said: "Stay a little maisters, I pray you, and let him speake to his wife;" and so they staied.

Then came she to him, and hee tooke his daughter Mary in his armes; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down and said the Lords praier. At which sight the shiriffe wept apase, and so did divers others of the company. After they had praied, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shooke her by the hand, & said: "Farewell my deare wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary and said, "God blesse thee, and make thee his servant:" and kissing Elizabeth, hee said: "God blesse thee. I pray you all stand strong and stedfast unto Christ and his worde, and keepe you from Idolatry." Then said his wife: "God be with thee dear Rowland. I wil with Gods grace meete thee at Hadley."

And so he set forth to the Woolsacke, and his wife followed him. As soone as they came to the Woolsacke, hee was put into a chamber, wherein hee was kept with foure yeomen of the Guard, and the sheriffes men. Doctor Taylor, as soone as he was come into the chamber, fell downe on his knees and gave himselfe wholly to praier. The shiriffe then seeing Doctor Tailors wife there, would in no case graunt her to speake any more with her husband, but gently desired her to goe to his house and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two officers, to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding she desired to go to her mothers, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came againe.

Thus

Thus remained doctor Taylor in the Woolsacke, kept by the shiriffe and his company, till eleven of the clocke. At which time the shiriffe of Essex was ready to receive him: and so they set him on horsebacke within the Inne, the gates being shut.

At the comming out of the gates, John Hull, before spoken of, stoode at the railes with Thomas, Doctor Taylors sonne. When doctor Taylor saw them, he called them, saying: "Come hither my sonne Thomas." And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father: and Doctour Taylor put off his hatte and said to the people that stoode there looking on him: "Good people this is mine owne sonne, begotten of my body in lawfull matrimony: and God bee blessed for lawfull matrimony." Then lifted he up his eyes towardes heaven, and praied for his sonne, laide his hande upon the childes head, and blessed him, and so delivered the childe to John Hull, whom he tooke by the hand, and said; "farewell John Hull, the faithfullest servant that ever man had." And so they rode forth, the shiriffe of Essex with foure yeomen of the Guard, and the shiriffes men leading him.

When they were come almost at Burntwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadley, who before time had beene Doctor Taylors servant, met with them, and he supposing him to have been at libertie, said: "Maister Doctor, I am glad to see you againe at libertie," and came to him, and took him by the hand. "Soft sir," quoth the shiriffe, "hee is a prisoner: what hast thou to doe with him?" "I cry you mercy," said Arthur, "I knew not so much, and I thought it none offence to talke to a true man." The shiriffe was very angry with this, and threatned to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding, hee bade him

him get him quickly away, and so they rode forth to Burntwood; where they caused to be made for Doctor Taylor a close hoode, with two holes for his eies to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breath at. This they did that no man should know him, nor hee speak to any man. Which practice they used also with others. Their owne consciences tolde them, that they ledde innocent lambes to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared, least if the people should have heard them speake, or have seene them, they might have beene much more strengthened by their godly exhortations, to stand stedfast in Gods word, and to fly the superstitions and Idolatries of the Papacie.

All the way Doctor Taylor was joifull and merry, as one that accounted himselfe going to a most pleasant banquet or bridall. He spake many notable things to the shiriffe and yeomen of the Guard that conducted him, and often mooved them to weep through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evill and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and stedfast, void of all feare, joifull in heart and glad to die. Of these yeomen of the Guard, three used Doctor Taylor friendly, but the fourth (whose name was Homes) used him very homely, unkindly, and churlishly.

At Chelmesford met them the shiriffe of Suffolke, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into Suffolke. And being at supper, the shiriffe of Essex very earnestly laboured him to return to the popish Religion, thinking with faire words to perswade him, and said, Good Maister doctor, wee are right sorry for you, considering what losse is of such one as ye might be if ye would: God hath given you great learning and wisedome, wherfore

ye

ye have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the Councell and highest of this realme. Besides this, yee are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature like to live many yeares, and without doubt, ye should in time to come bee in as good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloved of all men, as well for your vertues as for your learning: and mee thinke it were great pity you should cast away your selfe willingly, and so come to such a painefull and shamefull death. Ye should doe much better to revoke your opinions, and returne to the catholicke Church of Rome, acknowledge the popes holinesse to be the supreame head of the universall Church, and reconcile your selfe to him. You may do well yet, if you will: doubt ye not but ye shall finde favour at the queenes hands. I and all these your friends will be suters for your pardon: which no doubt, ye shal obtein. This councell I give you, good M. Doctor, of a good hart, & good will toward you: and thereupon I drinke to you." In like maner said all the yeomen of the Guard; "Upon that condition maister doctor, we will all drinke to you."

When they had all drunk to him, and the cup was come to him, he staied a little, as one studying what answere he might give. At the last thus he answered and said. "Maister shiriffe, and my maisters all, I hartily thanke you of your good will. I have harkened to your words and marked well your counsels. And to be plaine with you, I do perceive that I have bin deceived my self, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley, of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. "Yea good maister doctor," quoth the shiriffe, "Gods blessing on your heart: hold you

you there still. It is the comfortablest worde, that we heard you speake yet. What should ye cast away your selfe in vaine? Play a wise mans part, and I dare warrant it, yee shall finde favour." Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry.

At the last: "Good M. Doctor," quoth the shiriffe, "what meant ye by this, that ye said ye thinke ye have beene deceived your self, and think ye shall deceive many one in Hadley?" "Would you know my meaning plainly," quoth he? "Yea," quoth the shiriffe, "good maister doctor tell it us plainely."

Then said doctor Taylor, "I will tell you how I have bin deceived, and as I thinke, I shall deceive a great many. I am as you see, a man that hath a very great carkase, which I thought should have beene buried in Hadley Church yard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done: but herein I see I was deceived; and there are a great number of wormes in Hadley Church-yard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they: for this carkase must be burnt to ashes, and so shall they lose their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it."

When the shiriffe and his company heard him say so, they were amazed, and looked one on another, marvelling at the mans constant minde, that thus without all feare, made but a jest at the cruell torment, and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation cleane disappointed. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in his chiefest wealth and prosperitie; namely, that hee should shortly die and feede wormes in his grave: which meditation if all our

bishops,

bishops, and spirituall men had used, they had not for a little worldly glory forsaken the worde of God and trueth, which they in King Edwards daies had preached and set forth, nor yet to maintain the Bishop of Romes authoritie, have committed so many to the fire as they did.

But let us returne to doctor Taylor: who at Chelmesforde was delivered to the Shiriffe of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley, where hee suffered. When they were come to Lanham, the shiriffe staied there two daies: and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen & Justices upon great horses, which all were appointed to aid the sheriffe. These gentlemen laboured doctor Taylor very sore, to reduce him to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, "which" said they, "wee have heere for you." They promised him great promotions, yea a Bishopricke if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering words were in vaine. For he had not built his house upon the sand, in perill of falling at every puffe of winde, but upon the sure and unmoovable rocke, Christ. Wherefore hee abode constant and unmoovable unto the end.

After two daies, the shiriffe and his company led Doctour Taylor towards Hadley, and comming within a two mile of Hadley, "Why maister doctor," quoth the shiriffe, "how doe you now?" He answered: "Well, God be praised, good master shiriffe. Never better: for now I know I am almost at home. I lacke not past two stiles to goe over, and I am even at my fathers house. But maister shiriffe, said he, shall not wee goe thorough Hadley?" "Yes said the shiriffe," you shall go thorough Hadley." Then said he: "O good Lord, I thanke thee. I shall yet once ere I die see my flocke, whom thou Lord knowest I have most heartily loved,

loved, and truely taught. Good Lord blesse them, and keep them stedfast in thy word and trueth."

When they were now come to Hadley, and came riding over the the bridge, at the bridge foote waited a poore man with five small children: who when he saw Doctor Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said: "O deare father and good shepheard, Doctor Taylor: God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me, and my poore children." Such witnesse had the servant of God of his vertuous and charitable almes given in his life time. For God would now the poore should testifie of his good deeds, to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous adversaries. For the shiriffe and other that led him to death, were wonderfully astonied at this: and the Shiriffe sore rebuked the poore man for so crying. The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women of the Towne and countrey, who waited to see him: whome when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eys and lamentable voices they cried, saying one to another: "Ah good Lord, there goeth our good shepheard from us, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us. O mercifull God: what shall we poore scattered lambes doe? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord strengthen him & comfort him:" with such other most lamentable and pitious voices. Wherefore the people were sore rebuked by the Shiriffe and Catchpoles his men, that ledde him. And doctour Taylour evermore sayd to the people: "I have preached to you gods word and truth, and am come this day to seale it with my bloud."

Comming

Comming against the almes houses, which he well knew, he cast to the poore people mony, which remained of that good people had given him in the time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they tooke it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable almes of good people that visted him.

Therefore the money that now remained, hee put in a glove readie for the same purpose, and (as is said) gave it to the poore almesmen standing at their doores to see him. And comming to the last of the almeshouses, and not seeing the poore that there dwelt ready in their doores, as the other were, he asked: "Is the blinde man and blinde woman, that dwelt here alive?" It was answered, "Yea: they are there within." Then threw he glove and all in at the window, and so rode forth.

Thus this good father and provider for the poore, now took his leave of those, for whom all his life hee had a singular care and studie. For this was his custome, once in a fortnight at the least, to call upon sir Henry Doyll, and others the rich Clothmakers, to goe with him to the almeshouses, and there to see how the poore lived: what they lacked in meat, drinke, clothing, bedding, or anie other necessaries. The like did he also to other poore men that had many children, or were sicke. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and where he found cause, rebuke the unruly, and what they lacked, that gave he after his power: and what he was not able, he caused the rich and wealthy men to minister unto them. Thus shewed he himselfe in all thinges an example to his flocke, worthy to be followed; and taught by his deed, what a great treasure almes is to all such as cheerfully for Christs sake do it.

At

At the last, comming to Aldam Common, [5] the place assigned where he should suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked "what place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither?" It was answered: "It is Aldham Common, the place where you must suffer: and the people are come to looke upon you." Then said he: "thanked be God, I am even at home;" and so light from his horse, & with both his hands, rent the hood from his head.

Now his head was notted evil favouredly, and clipped, much like as a man would clip a fooles head: which cost the good bishop Boner had bestowed upon him, when he disgraded him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping teares, and cried, saying: "God save thee good Doctour Taylor: Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and helpe thee: The holy ghost comfort thee:" with such other like godly wishes. Then would hee have spoken to the people: but the Yeomen of the Gard were so busie about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thurst a tippe staffe into his mouth, and would in no wise permitte him to speak.

Then desired he licence of the shiriffe to speak: but the Shiriffe denied it to him, and bad him remember his promise to the Councell.

5 *Aldam Common.*] "In Aldham Common, not far from Hadley town, is a great stone, that assigns the place where he suffered, and on it are written these words, or to this effect,

Doctor Taylor for maintaining what was good
In this place shed his blood."

Strype's *Life of Cranmer, p.* 420.

In the same place Strype has recorded his epitaph, taken from a brass plate in the Parish Church of Hadley.

"Well,"

"Well," qouth Doctor Taylor "promise must be kept." What this promise was, it is unknown: but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the Councel sent for them, and threatned them they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promise, that at their deaths they would keepe silence, and not speake to the people. Wherefore they desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence. For the Papists feared much, least this mutation of Religion, from truth to lies, from Christes ordinances to the popish traditions, should not so quietly have beene received as it was, especially this burning of the preachers: but they measuring others mindes by their owne, feared least any tumult or uprore might have beene stirred, the people having so just a cause not to bee contented with their dooings; or else (that they most feared) the people should more have bin confirmed by their godly exhortations to stand stedfast against their vaine popish doctrine and Idolatrie. But thanks to God, which gave to his witnesses faith and patience, with stout & manly harts to despise all torments: neither was there so much as any one man that once shewed any signe of disobedience towards the magistrates. They shed their bloud gladly in the defence of the truth, so leaving example unto all men of true and perfect obedience: which is to obey God more than men; and if need require it, to shed their owne bloud rather than to depart from Gods truth.

Doctor Taylor perceiving that he could not be suffered to speake, sate downe, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him and sayd: "Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my bootes & take them for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them,

them, now take them." Then rose he up, and put off his clothes unto his shirte, and gave them away. Which doone, hee said with a loud voice: "Good people, I have taught you nothing but Gods holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of Gods blessed booke, the holy Bible: and I am come hither this day to seale it with my bloud." With that word, Homes, Yeoman of the Garde, aforesaid, who had used doctor Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a waster, & sayde: "Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou hereticke?" Then hee seeing they would not permit him to speake, kneeled downe & praied, and a poore woman that was among the people, stepped in and prayed with him: but hir they thrust away, and threatened to tread hir down with horses: notwithstanding she would not remoove, but abode and praied with him. When he hadde praied, he went to the stake and kissed it [6], and set himselfe into a pitch barrell, which they had set for him to stand in, and so stood with his backe upright against the stake, with his handes foulded together, and his eies toward heaven, and so he continually prayed.

[6] *And kissed it.*] In like manner we saw above p. that Hooper kissed the bundles of reeds that were prepared for his burning; and many other instances of the like action, some of which will fall in our way in the course of this History, are recorded in Fox. See *Acts and Monuments*, 1113, 1362, 1398, 1435, 1474, 1605, 1661. The practice innocent as it was, could not escape the scoffs of Miles Hoggard, a vulgar and merciless persecutor. He is endeavouring to disparage our martyrs by comparing them with Joan Bocher, Van Paris &c. who suffered for Arianism, &c. speaking of this latter he says "and at the tyme of his death he was so frolicke, that he fared *muche lyke our martyrs*, in embrasyng the reedes, kyssyng the poste, syngyng, and suche other toyes." *Displaying of Protestants*. fol. 38. A. D. 1556. 12mo.

Then they bound him with chaines, and the sheriffe called one Richard Doningham a butcher, and commanded him to set up Fagots: but he refused to do it, and said: "I am lame sir, and not able to lift a Fagot." The shiriffe threatned to send him to prison: notwithstanding, he would not do it.

Then appointed he one Mulleine of Carsey, a man for his vertues fit to be a hangman, and Soyce a very drunkard, and Warwike, who in the commotion time in king Edwards daies, lost one of his eares for his seditious talke, amongst whome was also one Robert King a deviser of Enterludes, who albeit was there present and had doing there with the gunpowder; what he meant and did therein (he himselfe saith he did it for the best, and for quick dispatch) the Lord knoweth which shall judge all: more of this I have not to say.

These foure were appointed to set up the fagots, and to make the fire, which they most diligently did: and this Warwike cruelly cast a fagot at him, which light upon his head, & brake his face, that the bloud ran down his visage. Then said doctor Tailor: "Oh friend, I have harme inough, what needed that."

Further more, sir John Shelton there standing by, as doctour Taylour was speaking and saying the Psalme *Miserere* in English, stroke him on the lippes: "Ye knave," said hee, "speake Latine; I will make thee." At last they set in fire, and doctour Taylour, holding up both his handes, called uppon God, and said: "Mercifull father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviours sake, receive my soule into thy handes." So stood he still, without either crying or mooving, with his handes folded together, till Soyce with an Halberd stroke him

him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead corpes fell downe into the fire.

Thus rendered the man of God [7] his blessed soule into the hands of his mercifull father, and to his most deare and certaine saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.

[7] *The man of God.*] Strype in his *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, p. 421, has preserved a considerable fragment of the heads of a Sermon preached at Hadley, the day after Taylor's matyrdom, by Newall his successor in that benefice: "a right Popish Sermon" (says Strype) "patched up of ignorance, malice, uncharitableness, lies and improbabilities." "It moveth many minds," remarks the preacher, "to see an Heretic constant, and to die. But it is not to be marvelled at: for the Devil hath power over soul and body. For he causeth men to drown, and hang themselves, at their own wills. Much more he may cause a man to burn; seeing he is tied, and cannot fly.—Sure he died in damnable case, if he did not otherwise repent in the hour of pain.—And I warrant you he said not one word at his death, more than desired the People to pray for him: which was no token of a Christian, but of stubbornness. But I am glad, that ye were so quiet." See the rest.

THE END OF VOL. II.

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